PRUDENTIUS' *PSYCHOMACHIA*

ROUTLEDGE LATER LATIN POETRY

MARC MASTRANGELO

ROUTLEDGE

PRUDENTIUS' *PSYCHOMACHIA*

This new translation brings to life Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, one of the most widely read poems in western Europe from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance. With accompanying notes and introduction, this volume provides a fresh exploration of its themes and influence.

The *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (348–c. 405), an allegorical epic poem of nearly 1,000 lines about the battle between the virtues and the vices for possession of the human soul, led early modern scholars to refer to the late antique poet as "the Christian Vergil." Combining depictions of violent, single combats with allusions to pagan epic poetry, biblical scenes, and Christian doctrine, the poem captures the dynamism of the later Roman Empire in which the pagan world was giving way to a new, Christian Europe. In this volume, the introduction sets the historical and literary context and illuminates the *Psychomachia*'s prominent role in western literary history. Mastrangelo's translation aims to capture the rhetorical power of the author's Roman Christian Latin for the 21st-century reader. The notes provide the reader with in-depth information on Prudentius' Latinity, the Roman epic tradition, and Christian doctrine.

This volume is directed at students and scholars across the disciplines of comparative literature, classics, religion, and ancient and medieval studies, as well as any reader interested in the history and development of literature in the West.

Marc Mastrangelo is Professor of Classical Studies at Dickinson College, USA, and the author of *The Roman Self in Late Antiquity* (2008). He has written on Greco-Roman intellectual history and poetics, and translated Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Socrates* for the volume *The Unknown Socrates* (2002).

ROUTLEDGE LATER LATIN POETRY

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PRUDENTIUS' *PSYCHOMACHIA*

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FOR MY SISTER, DENICE

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PREFACE

Prudentius is an author whose work reveals the continuities and discontinuities between the ancient, late antique, and early modern worlds of literature, thought, and language. This ambitious claim is worth stating, as it expresses Prudentius' peculiar artistic position in his own time and his widespread but varied reception in western Europe. Consequently, understanding Prudentius' contribution to western literature depends on our linguistic competence and interpretative and historical knowledge. Moreover, translating Prudentius' *Psychomachia* for 21st-century readers is a small but, I believe, crucial part of a cultural and human imperative: to connect with each other across the frontiers of time, space, and language. To this end, I have endeavored to provide a readable and accessible English translation of Prudentius' *Psychomachia*. Taken together, the translation, introduction, and notes attempt to give a sense of the excellence and importance of Prudentius' poem on its own terms and in the history of western verse.

I have had help along the way for which I am grateful. Chris Francese commented on an earlier version of the translation and helped with the notes at the beginning stages. This project would never have gotten off the ground nor have been completed without Joseph Pucci's encouragement, learning, and passion for late antique poetry. In several iterations of Latin 241, Early Christian Latin, my students contributed insights and asked questions that improved the translation and notes. Lucile Duperron's expertise in translation theory and practice illuminated the complex issues in bringing such a unique text to life. Conversations with Melinda Schlitt have helped me to see the visual power of ancient poetry in general and the *Psychomachia* in particular. At Routledge, anonymous readers provided useful feedback and Elizabeth Risch and Rajalakshmi Ramesh exhibited great patience. "Weekly discussions on all things intellectual-historical with Chris Bilodeau have broadened my perspective on Late Antique thought." A Loeb Classical Library Foundation Fellowship provided time to complete basic research, while Dickinson College

provided sabbatical support and the Roberts Fund for Classical Studies at Dickinson furnished resources for research and writing.

I am fortunate to teach and do research in a wonderful department at a great liberal arts college. However, the best fortune has been my life with Lucile, Joseph, and Julien.

MM
August 9, 2021
Carlisle, PA

ABBREVIATIONS

Old Testament (Quotations are from *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary*, R. Alter, 2018.)

Gen.	*Genesis*
Ex.	*Exodus*
Lev.	*Leviticus*
Num.	*Numbers*
Deut.	*Deuteronomy*
Josh.	*Joshua*
1*Sam.*	1 *Samuel*
2*Sam.*	2 *Samuel*
Ps.	*Psalms*
Wis.	*Wisdom*
Prov.	*Proverbs*
Is.	*Isaiah*
Ez.	*Ezekiel*
Dan.	*Daniel*

New Testament (Quotations are from the *New Revised Standard Version* of the Bible.)

Mt.	*Matthew*
Mk.	*Mark*
Lk.	*Luke*
Jn.	*John*
Rom.	*Romans*
1*Cor.*	1 *Corinthians*
2*Cor.*	2 *Corinthians*

Gal.	*Galatians*
Eph.	*Ephesians*
Col.	*Colossians*
1*Tim*.	1 *Timothy*
Heb.	*Hebrews*
2*Pet*.	2 *Peter*
1*Jn*.	1 *John*
Rev.	*Revelation*

Prudentius

apoth.	*Apotheosis*
cath.	*Cathemerinon*
ham.	*Hamartigenia*
pe.	*Peristephanon*
praef.	*Preface* (to the works)
psych.	Psychomachia
psych. praef.	*Preface to the* Psychomachia
symm	*Contra Symmachum*

Ambrose

apol.	*Apology*
de abr.	*On Abraham*
de Isaac	*On Isaac/On the Soul*
de myst.	*On Mysteries*
de vid.	*On Widows*
de virg.	*On Virgins*
expl. ps.	*Commentary on the Psalms*
hex.	*Hexameron*
in luc.	*On Luke*
off.	*On Duties*

Ambrosiaster

quaest.	*Investigations of the Old and New Testaments*

Apuleius

met.	*Metamorphoses*

Augustine

civ.	*City of God*
conf.	*Confessions*
de vera relig.	*On the True Religion*
en. in ps.	*Commentary on the Psalms*
ep.	*Letters*
de nat. et orig. anim.	*On the Soul and its Origin*
serm.	*Sermons*
retract.	*Retractions*
trin.	*On the Trinity*

Aulus Gellius

NA	*Attic Nights*

Ausonius

ephem.	*The Daily Round*

Basil of Caesarea

ep.	*Letters*

Caesar

bgall.	*The Gallic War*

Cassian

inst.	*Institutes*

Cassiodorus

exp. ad rom.	*Expositions on Romans*
exp. ad ps.	*Expositions on the Psalms*

Cicero

de leg.	*On the Laws*
leg. man.	*On the Manilian Law*
nat. deo.	*On the nature of the Gods*

orat.	*Orator*
Tusc.	*Tusculan Disputations*

Claudian

c.m.	*Minor Poems*
eutr.	*Against Eutropius*
fesc.	*The Marriage of Honorius*
gild.	*The War with Gildo*
laus ser.	*Praise of a Siren*
p&o	*Panegyric for the Consulship of Probus and Olybius*
ruf.	*Against Rufinus*
stil.	*Panegyric for the Consulship of Stilicho*
vi cons.	*Panegyric for the Sixth Consulship of Honorius*

Cyprian

ep.	*Letters*
bono pat.	*On Good Patience*

Dante

inf.	*Inferno*
conv.	*Convivio*
can grande	*Letter to Can Grande della Scala*
VN	*The New Life*

Dracontius

de laud. dei	*The Praises of God*
ep. in fratr.	*Letters to his Brother*
epith. ioan. et vit.	*Marriage Song for John and the Heifer*
rom.	*Romulea*
sat.	*Apology*

Gratius

cyneg.	*On Hunting*

Gregory the Great

in ez. hom.	*Homilies on Ezekiel*

Gregory of Nazianzus

orat.	*Orations*

Horace

carm.	*Odes*
epod.	*Epodes*
sat.	*Satires*

Isadore of Seville

ep.	*Letters*

Jerome

adv. iov.	*Against Jovinian*
adv. pelag.	*Against the Pelagians*
comm. ad gal	*Commentary on Galatians*
ep.	*Letters*
ez.	*Commentary on Ezekiel*

John Milton

PL	*Paradise Lost*
PR	*Paradise Regained*

Julian

ep.	*Letters*

Juvencus

ELQ	*Evangeliorum Libri Quattor*

Lactantius

de mort. pers.	*On the Deaths of the Persecutors*
inst.	*Divine Institutes*
epit.	*Summary of the Divine Institutes*

Livy

ab urb. cond.	*History of Rome*

Lucan

bell. civ.	*The Civil War*

Lucretius

DRN	*On the Nature of the Universe*

Macrobius

in somn.	*Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*

Marius Victorinus

adv. ar.	*Against the Arians*
comm. in rev.	*Commentary on Revelation*
in Eph.	*On Ephesians*

Martial

spect.	*Epigrams/Spectacles*

Minucius Felix

oct.	*Octavius*

Nemesianus

cyneg.	*On Hunting*

Novatian

de trin.	*On the Trinity*

Origen (trans. Rufinus)

c. cels.	*Against Celsus*
in ep. paul ad rom.	*On St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*

in lev. hom	*Homilies on Leviticus*
in num. hom.	*Homilies*

Orosius

apol.	*Apology*

Ovid

am.	*Amores*
fast.	*Fasti*
ib.	*Ibis*
met.	*Metamorphoses*
tr.	*Tristia*

Paulinus of Nola

carm.	*Poems*
ep.	*Letters*

Paulinus Perigueux

de vit. mart.	*The Life of St. Martin*

Petrarch

ecl.	*Eclogues*
secr.	*Secretum*

Phaedrus

fab.	*Aesop's Fables*

Philo of Alexandria

de spec. leg.	*On Special Laws*

Plato

phdr.	*Phaedrus*

Plautus

trin.	*Three Pieces of Money*
mil.	*The Vainglorious Soldier*
bacch.	*Bacchides*

Pliny the Elder

HN	*Natural History*

Quintus Serenus

de med. praef.	*Preface to On Medicine*

Rufinus

eccl. hist.	*History of the Church*

Sallust

cat.	*Catiline's Conspiracy*

Sedulius

carm. pasch.	*Easter Poem*

Seneca

de vit. beat.	*On the Blessed Life*
ep.	*Letters*
med.	*Medea*

Silius Italicus

pun.	*Punica*

Statius

ach.	*Achilleid*
silv.	*Silvae*
theb.	*Thebaid*

Sulpicius Severus

chron.	*Sacred History*
dial.	*Dialogues*
vit. mart.	*Life of St. Martin*

Tacitus

hist.	*Histories*

Tertullian

adv. iud.	*Against the Jews*
adv. marc.	*Against Marcion*
adv. prax.	*Against Praxeas*
adv. valent.	*Against the Valentinians*
apol.	*Apology*
cor.	*The Crown*
de bapt.	*On Baptism*
de idol.	*On Idolatry*
de spect.	*On Shows*
ieiun.	*On Fasting*
pud.	*On Modesty*
res.	*On the Resurrection*

Valerius Flaccus

arg.	*Argonautica*

Venantius Fortunatus

carm.	*Poems*

Vergil

aen.	*Aeneid*
georg.	*Georgics*

Reference works

ANRW	H. Temporini and W. Haase. Eds. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Berlin. 1972–

L&S	C.T. Lewis and C.S. Short. Eds. *A Latin Dictionary*. Oxford. 1956
ODCC	*F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone*. Eds. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. 3rd Ed. Oxford. 1997
OLD	P.G.W. Glare. Ed. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford. 1982
New Pauly	C.F. Salazar and D.E. Orton. Eds. *Brill's New Pauly Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. Leiden 2002–2010; English Edition adapted from *De Neue Pauly*. Eds. H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Stuttgart. 1996–99
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*. Ed. J-P. Migne. Paris: Garnier. 1844–64
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Leipzig. 1900–
RAC	T. Klauser et al. *Reallexicon für Antike un Christentum*. Stuttgart. 1950-
RE	A. Pauly Wissowa and W. Kroll. Eds. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart. 1894–

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INTRODUCTION

In our post-modern, post-Freudian age, we struggle against the forces of atomization and fragmentation. As we become more global, less communal, and more individual, our psyches grow increasingly anxious about the nature of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, success and failure. And if we are fortunate enough to see past these struggles we begin to understand our lives as a contest between desire and rational choice, between instant satisfaction and delayed gratification, raising once again the specter of anxiety. The holy grail of success, so we are told, whether material or spiritual, depends on the taming of our frivolous and destructive tendencies so that the health of body, the focus of spirit, and the harmony of the community can be achieved.

Nearly 60 years ago, E.R. Dodds described an early phase of the Christian era (180–312 CE) with a phrase coined by W.H Auden: an "age of anxiety," which was brought on by a change in outlook or mentality as the Roman Empire began its transition from paganism to Christianity. Profound changes in social and psychological attitudes toward communal belonging, the material life of this world, and the divine drove that anxiety.[1] From the 4th and 5th centuries and beyond we witness the rise of new ethnic conflicts, religious movements that interact and compete, and new opportunities for social mobility in the army, civil service, and the Church.[2] Christian monastic life, in which a person's body was subjected to a discipline of the spirit, represented a social revolution where, for the first time, the lives of women were deemed worthy to write down.[3] On a psychological level, early Christianity adapted the ancient philosophy of Platonism's assertion that general principles were superior to particular human experiences, and those principles took the form of internalized Christian virtues and doctrines. Anything material, including the body, was downgraded, leading the true believers to turn away from their families, cities, and the empire. Challenges to accepted norms of authority were commonplace as Christians declared their allegiance to God first.

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At the end of the 4th century, the poetry of Aurelius Clemens Prudentius (358–405) reflects a similar world of possibilities, contradictions, and struggles centered on the individual. Although a rhetoric of a powerful and eternal Rome under Christianity dominated the zeitgeist of the period until the sack of Rome by Alaric the Visigoth in 410, a general sense of anxiety persisted. The ascension of Christianity as the state religion in the first half of the 4th century, ushered in by Constantine's military and political victories, did not halt other trends (economic, military, and social) that decentralized and weakened the viability of a unified and eternal Roman Empire. Aristocrats retreated into their villas in the countryside, eschewing their traditional civic roles and pursuing their own personal interests. The new religion, with its all or nothing idea of individual commitment, compelled an internal process of "soul searching," the crux of which was whether one was a true or false Christian, able to recognize good and evil. Even traditional Roman notions of success began to fall by the wayside, as men like Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, and Augustine gave up their worldly careers for a life of contemplation, charity, and writing.

As a product of a world in psychological and social transition, Prudentius' *Psychomachia* is an epic poem that seeks to enshrine an updated master narrative of Romanness (*Romanitas*), as it lays out a program of exemplars and types that model the choice of good over evil, Christian virtue over demonic vice. This broad and universal reading of the poem is qualified by Prudentius' local, Spanish identity that is reflected in his pride in the towns and Christian martyrs of ancient Spain, and in his concerns regarding the Faith of his fellow Spaniards.[4] Yet Prudentius has been received, especially recently, as an heir to Vergil, whose *Aeneid* continues to furnish the touchstone of *Romanitas*. Recent critics view the *Psychomachia*'s allegorical program as a literary achievement that rivals the political and historical sophistication of the *Aeneid*, which helped shape Roman identity for centuries.[5] Prudentius' poem codifies a Roman Christian identity that drives a master narrative of a Roman Christian empire. Moreover, as a didactic epic,[6] the intent of the work is to teach, though the battle theme dictates the use of the conventions of epic battle narratives.[7] The overall effect of the poem is to produce a "universal epic" that explains and interprets the world and the history of human beings from the perspective of Salvation History, a kind of guide for the anxious Christian.

The life of Prudentius is emblematic of his multifaceted literary achievement. Prudentius was born in 348 in an area of Northern Spain, south of the Pyrenees along the Ebro River, most likely from the city of Calagurris (modern Calahorra).[8] He tells us in the *Preface* to his works that after a

career in the civil service, in which he rose to be an urban chief magistrate and a part of the cabinet of the emperor Theodosius (347–395), he renounced worldly pursuits for a committed Christianity and settled back in Spain to write poetry. The *Psychomachia* was probably finished between 405 and 408 but no later than 410 when Alaric, the Visigoth King, sacked Rome (a cataclysmic event not referred to by Prudentius).[9]

Prudentius personifies seven virtues (Faith, Chastity, Patience, Lowliness, Moderation, Good Works, and Harmony) and seven vices (Paganism, Lust, Anger, Arrogance, Luxury, Greed, and Heresy) as epic warriors who face off in seven single combats. After the sixth battle, the Virtues assume that the war is over only to be disappointed that a disguised Heresy has snuck into the victorious camp and wounded Harmony. All the Virtues act quickly and surround the Vice, and destroy her, reflecting the early Church's worry over heresies around the Mediterranean. After this "final" victory of the virtues, a temple of Wisdom is constructed. The poem ends with a prayer of thanks to Christ and a warning that, for human beings, the battle within the soul between virtues and vices never ends. The structure is as follows:[10]

Proem			1–14 [1–20]
Faith (*Fides*)	vs.	**Paganism** (*Veterum Cultura Deorum*)	15–29 [21–39]
Chastity (*Pudicitia*)	vs.	**Lust** (*Libido*)	30–87 [40–108]
Patience (*Patientia*)	vs.	**Anger** (*Ira*)	88–145 [109–177]
Lowliness (*Mens Humilis*) with Hope (*Spes*)	vs.	**Arrogance** (*Superbia*)	146–260 [178–309]
Moderation (*Sobrietas*)	vs.	**Luxury** (*Luxuria*)	261–382 [310–543]
Reason (*Ratio*) with **Good Works** (*Operatio*)	vs.	**Greed** (*Avaritia*)	383–533 [454–628]
Harmony (*Concordia*)	vs.	**Heresy** (*Discordia Heresis*)	534–617 [629–725]
Speeches of Harmony and Faith to the Virtues			618–699 [726–822]
Building the temple of Wisdom			700–754 [823–887]
Poet gives thanks and warns of never-ending battle			755–779 [888–915]

Each personified virtue and vice instantiate moral qualities that lead to the virtues defeating the vices in wildly entertaining battles. The *Psychomachia* takes place in a psychological moment, a moment of synchronic consciousness, in which the present is replete with past events and persons, as well as the possibilities of the future, including eternal life. The presence of the memory in the present moment of consciousness parallels Augustine's ideas on the self in the *Confessions*.[11] In the *Psychomachia*, the past, present, and future are linked through prefiguration and allegory. As a result, Prudentius' poem is less an epic in which a distant world of origins, though separate from the present, gains authority over the present, than a didactic exercise through the use of allegory. The *Psychomachia*'s battles, virtues and vices, and typologies represent a synchronic present, a psychological state of past memories and future hopes.

The *Psychomachia* as allegory

The *Psychomachia* is indeed the first systematic personification allegory in western literature.[12] In the *Preface to the Psychomachia*, Prudentius sets the stage for the first battle between Faith and Paganism through his careful narration of the stories of Abraham, which display two central qualities of faith—at least as Prudentius understood it: an unwavering belief in and obedience to God and the willingness to destroy those who do not possess such belief; for example, Abraham's unquestioning hospitality in receiving the triple-formed angel (33–34) and his martial prowess on display in the violent rescue of his nephew Lot from Sodom and Gomorrah (17–24).[13] This historical figure from the Old Testament supplies the qualities that form the essence of the personification of Faith, who also possesses unwavering belief and does not hesitate to destroy brutally the vice, Paganism. The victory of each of the seven Virtues will affirm their own and each Vice's essential qualities, portrayed in variously engaging ways in an interior, psychological war with external, social consequences. The reader witnesses the material realities of graphic battle after battle through the literary constructions of personifications who allegorically stand for the immaterial world of our tumultuous inner lives. Prudentius' allegorical mentality subordinates the surface, concrete meaning of narrative in order to foreground ideas, universals, and Salvation History as true and real.

Prudentius' personification allegory explicitly equates his characters with concepts. However, allegory fundamentally assumes a hidden meaning.[14] The *Psychomachia* reimagines biblical narrative (from *Genesis* to *Revelation*) through the reuse of pagan epic and Christian theological traditions. The interactions and behaviors of the poem's explicit personifications

suggest allegorically not only the troubled condition of the human soul but also post-Constantinian interpretations of Bible stories, characters, and language.[15] Consequently, personification is a form of allegory that participates in two other forms of allegory: allegorical interpretations of Bible narratives and typological allegory. Regarding the former, examples include Prudentius' allegorical yet orthodox interpretation of *Jn*. 1:14 ("and the Word became flesh and lived among us"), in which Christ has always existed as God (58–63), an important idea that heresies such as Arianism disputed. As for typological allegory, i.e. the use of exemplars (types) to make connections between the Old Testament, New Testament, and the present, Abraham's wife Sara's pregnancy in old age (lines 46–50) and Judith's preservation of her chastity in the face of the lustful Holofernes (30–87) function as Old Testament types that allegorically indicate New Testament figures, events, and sacraments: Mary, the immaculate conception, the virgin birth of Christ, and baptism. The three forms of allegory in the *Psychomachia* (personification, allegoresis/exegesis, typology) overlap and feed off of each other.[16]

The interpretation of a biblical text can function as input for the described behavior of a personification, which in turn, can point to another biblical figure, sacrament, or event. For instance, in the story of Judith and Holofernes, Prudentius portrays the personification, Chastity, who tells the story of Judith and from whom she receives her identifying concept of purity. Prudentius portrays Chastity washing the sword of Judith in the Jordan River (79–87). As a result, the Christian exegesis of the story of Judith, i.e. that she stands for a new divine dispensation favoring the "weak" and also for the requirement of physical purity, spills over onto the personification, Chastity. Her action of washing and purifying Judith's sword comes to mean not only the sacrament of baptism, but also the biblical figure of Mary and her virgin birthing of Christ. In another example, when Moderation says to the army of Virtues who are surrendering to Luxury's temptations that "symbols have been written on your forehead in oil" (301), she is referring to baptism. As she enters, carrying the battle standard of the Cross, Moderation also indicates the Sign of the Cross with her own words, acting as an allegorical bulwark against Luxury's hair perfumes that have been weaponized against the army of the Virtues.[17] Later in the same speech, Moderation invokes a series of Old Testament biblical figures (David, Samuel, and Jonathan, 325, 326, 334) and the Old Testament story of God saving the Hebrews from their thirst in the desert (311–13). These references, spoken directly by Moderation, refer to the need to resist the temptation of luxury in order to be ready to receive heavenly food (lines 314–15), i.e. what early Christians would have understood allegorically as the blood and

body of Christ, the sacrament of the Eucharist. These examples, and others throughout the poem, show Prudentius' impressive expansion of the literary trope of personification, which acts as the focal point for both allegorical (orthodox) interpretation of scripture and the allegorical construction of Christian Salvation History through typological pairings of Old and New Testament figures.

Prudentius' use of allegory has its origins in both the pagan and biblical interpretive traditions. On the pagan side, Plato's idea of the soul, made up of parts in constant conflict, anchors the discourse of the soul from Prudentius to Freud and beyond.[18] Moreover, early Christian use of allegory can be traced back to the Greek application of allegorical interpretation to Homer's texts and his pagan literary descendants.[19] For instance, Vergil's Allecto in *Aeneid* 4 and 7, and Ovid's Tisiphone in *Metamorphoses* 4, both furies who drive characters into frenzy and spur on wars, provide models for Vergil and Ovid's personifications of *Fama* (Rumor), *Invidia* (Envy), *Somnus* (Sleep), and *Fames* (Hunger).[20] These personifications represent "a state or a quality endowed with features such as feelings, motivations, human-like form, and human-like speech."[21] The *Psychomachia*'s battle between Harmony and Heresy (lines 564–617) is modelled on Allecto's attack of the Italians in *Aeneid* 7 to destroy the peace between the Trojans and the Latins and again as the "proto-allegorical figure of the fury" in the battle between Lust (*Libido*) and Chastity (*Pudicitia*). Vergil's Allecto, with her snake hair, is associated with the serpent in the Garden and therefore with Original Sin. Prudentius' Lust behaves like Allecto and her victims like Allecto's victims.[22] Both Vergil and Ovid are influential for the development of personification in the poetry of Statius, who flourished several centuries before Prudentius and whose epic poem, *Thebaid*, was well-known to early Christian writers. However, Prudentius represents an inflection point in the use of personification, both expanding and deepening personification's range of meaning and narrative function.

With the factors of personification, biblical interpretation, typology, and the battle narrative, often simultaneously at play in the poem, the meanings of certain passages and scenes can be ambiguous or even clash. After the defeat of Greed by Good Works, Peace enters and is described as having eradicated war (536–37). Christ rejoices (544), God the Father smiles (543), and the army of Virtues sings hymns like the triumphant Israelites after escaping Pharaoh's army (550–52). However, with the wounding of Harmony by Heresy (570–71), Prudentius dashes these high hopes, at least temporarily. For Prudentius, this dramatic effect represents a profound truth, namely that internal psychological conflict, i.e. the interior battle against vice, never ends. At the end of the poem, he explicitly expresses this state

of affairs for the soul.[23] The wounding of Harmony after the apparent victory of the Virtues implies a moment of dissonance, including the thought that the all-powerful God the Father and Christ the Son do not protect us against being deceived by false hopes. Yet this moment of doubt and dissension does not alter the scene's main message. After escaping the attack by Heresy, Harmony, who is described as a *Princeps* ("first citizen," the term Augustus took for himself as the restorer of the republic) addresses the troops, i.e. the parts of the soul, employing further political language (639–41) in an appeal for unity. Her praise of the concept of peace (651–68) and warnings about the deceptive nature of Heresy serve as two sides of the allegoresis of the scene the reader has just witnessed in which she is attacked and wounded by Heresy. That is, to achieve a unified and harmonious Christian community (the Church), each individual must be in a state of interior peace *and* share the same (correct) beliefs. The allegory works at both the level of society and the individual because of Prudentius' integration of personification with allegoresis.

In a scene in which scholars have seen inconsistencies in Prudentius' allegorical presentation, Greed, during her battle with Good Works, attacks the priests of God (419): an allegory for corruption in the Roman Christian Church, as priests populate the battlefield along with the virtues and vices—an incoherence in the allegorical setting of a soul battle since 4th-century priests are not constituents of the human soul like virtues and vices. Prudentius combines several elements of his allegorical approach that result in minor but noticeable ruptures, or understood differently, an unruly expansion of his allegorical structure. The fictional aspects are on full display in Prudentius' picture of interior conflict. In the end, such ruptures and tensions in the *Psychomachia*'s allegorical structure are of no great concern to the reader, as they sometimes have been to scholars.[24] Prudentius was not composing his work according to previously established criteria for systematic personification allegory. Since he was the first, there were no criteria for him to follow. Rather, in each of the allegorical battles between the Virtues and the Vices, as well as in the construction of the allegorical temple in the latter part of the poem, Prudentius builds unique scenes that employ different degrees of typological allegory, biblical allegoresis, and personification resulting in eight rich and varied set pieces of battles.

Despite the rupture in the allegory of the scene, the speech of Good Works, who battles Greed, asserts the typical allegoresis of scripture that there is no need to indulge in greed because God will provide (522–29 and *Mt*. 6:31, *Lk*. 12:24, and *Job* 38:41). On the side of the vices, there is allegoresis as well. For instance, Heresy whose personification includes fury-like qualities, expresses "blasphemies" concerning the Trinity, including

Arianism, Marcionism, and Priscillianism (see notes 604–609). These heresies represent the wrong allegoreses of scripture. In another example of a vice interpreting scripture, the vice actually gets it right. At Lines 179–89, Arrogance explains that she is part of every human and thus human nature from birth, and she cites as evidence the expulsion from paradise of Adam and Eve (*Gen*. 3:21–24). In this paradoxically orthodox allegoresis (i.e. interpretation of scripture), a vice's words are true and do not need the aid of the complementary vice of Deceit in order to do harm, as in the case of Heresy. Prudentius uses a multi-faceted allegorical approach in order to assert that mistaken beliefs and the awful truth of human nature must be confronted in order to take part in the triumphant conclusion of Salvation History, i.e. eternal life.

Prudentius and the *Psychomachia* in literary history

The *Psychomachia's* place in conventional literary history remains central to how we think of the poem and its influence. Recent views on the value and use of literary history conclude that grand literary histories that feed the narratives of nationalism ought to be deconstructed since, in the words of Jean-Francois Lyotard, "the modern age is less responsive to all embracing theories and philosophies of a uniform future than to diversity and difference of aspiration. The diversity finds expression in micro-narratives."[25] However, for an ambitious poet of ancient Rome, and in particular, during this age of transition, producing a totalizing or national epic goes hand in hand with the assumption of a more unified literary history. Prudentius was a poet and prominent citizen of the dominant hegemon that was Rome and understood his literary activity as operating within a sweep of world events and grand literary tradition.[26] Like Vergil and Ovid before him, he anticipated being received by future poets (and artists) who would harbor similar ambitions such as Chaucer, Spenser, Dante, and Milton. Although Prudentius did not explicitly assert such poetic ambition, it is implicit in his epic project and implies a generalizing narrative of literary history.[27]

For all the more recent attention regarding the quality and sophistication of Prudentius' poetry, he remains caught in a bifurcated version of literary history in which he is linked to allegorical medieval poets like Alain de Lille (*The Complaint of Nature*, c.1165),[28] but he disappears in the line of literary inheritance that proceeds through Augustine and leads straight to Dante and Milton.[29] On this view, epic poems such as Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1321), Petrarch's *Africa* (1343), Vida's *Christiad* (1535), Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* 1581), and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1674) were products of an Augustinian challenge, fully articulated in Petrarch's *Secretum* (1353): to take a

spiritual journey to God, a journey that requires the overcoming of earthly passions (vices) and the rejection of literary activity that emphasizes human excellence.[30] However, as these epics endeavor to follow in the footsteps of Vergil, they also engage in a poetics found in the *Psychomachia*, including the construction of a Christian Romanness, the progress from Vergilian falsehood to Christian truth, and the victory of virtues over vices.

In its own time, the *Psychomachia* and much of early Christian poetry struggled to make its mark among literate Christians and theologians who dominated the intellectual and literary debates of the day. Unlike the golden age of Latin poetry, when Vergil and Ovid became the sources of Rome's most important myths and stories, the early Christian era looked to the Bible for its central narratives in preference to any poetry, including Christian poetry, which was in the throes of establishing itself as serious literature. Even though there was a flowering of Christian poetic production in the 4th century, especially when compared to poetic activity in the previous chaotic 3rd century, an established and influential non-liturgical Christian poetry did not exist—even Christian hymns that were primarily performed in churches had not achieved non-liturgical independence. Patristic prose literature in the form of theological treatises, commentaries, and sermons were the cultural touchstones that directed the conversations about the nature of the Trinity, the interpretation of scripture, and what it meant to be a true Christian on a daily basis.[31] Moreover, the historical and political "truths" of a national epic like the *Aeneid* were based on Rome's imperial success, which Augustine would later reject as a basis for any new Christian literature.[32] Consequently, Augustine and his patristic colleagues disparaged the idea of a Christian poetry, taking up a constricted Platonist view that hymns in praise of God or saints constitute everything that poetry should aim for—and the *Psalms* had already fulfilled part of that program.

Prudentius had other ideas. His oeuvre not only contains hymns for the hours of the day and for various Spanish and Roman martyrs, but also anti-heretical and theological poems, as well as the *Psychomachia*, which does not quite fit into these categories—listed in his *Preface* to his works as whole (*praef.* 36–42). Prudentius' *Psychomachia* breaks new ground as both a martial and didactic epic poem, both a poem of personification and typological allegory, and finally, a poem that integrates the traditions of pagan poetry, the Bible, and Christian patristic theology. Given the headwinds that early Christian poetry faced in the 4th century, it did not take long for the *Psychomachia* to be accepted as the crowning poetic achievement of the age. Its influence flourished in the Middle Ages as Christianity cemented its political and religious hold on western Europe. We can catch a glimpse of the start of inclusion of Prudentius in a western European canon

of ancient literature in canonical lists of authors by various intellectuals and poets of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Sidonius Apollinaris, Avitus, Gennadius, Isidore of Seville, and Gregory of Tours all knew Prudentius, and several included him in their canon of authors from antiquity with the likes of Vergil, Horace, Ovid, and others.[33] Augustine never mentions Prudentius or talks approvingly of post-Constantinian poetry, but these two contemporaries share common features, including their fascination with Vergil's *Aeneid*, in which the main character completes a difficult and life-changing journey of discovery. For Aeneas, that discovery was the greatest earthly city, Rome, while for Prudentius and Augustine it is the conversion to the pure Christian self in a Christian universe; though the poet sees himself as a Christian in a Christian Roman empire, the Church Father after the sacking of Rome in 410 views himself as a Christian separate from Rome or any other earthly empire.[34]

The *Psychomachia* as a totalizing and universal epic implies further observations concerning Prudentius' influence on the major figures of epic poetry in the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, including Dante and Milton. E.R. Curtius set clearly circumscribed parameters for Prudentius' station in literary history in the 20th century: "With full command of classical style he opened up great new realms to poetry. . . . He is the most important and most original of early Christian poets. But he is also a solitary phenomenon."[35] Curtius argued that Prudentius focused more on Christian piety and doctrine in a variety of meters rather than following Vergil's epic example and producing Christian epics like the Vergilian biblical retellings of Juvencus (mid-4th century) and, in particular, Sedulius (first half of the 5th century) whom Luther called "the most Christian poet" and who saw as his literary predecessor David, the poet composer of the *Psalms*.[36]

Conventional treatments of Prudentius' role in literary history sometimes classify him with early Christian biblical epic poets like Juvencus, Sedulius, Dracontius, and others who retell the biblical stories. However, recently critics and scholars have not only seen a more engaged role for these poets, but they have also inserted Prudentius into another literary historical narrative through his use of several kinds of allegory and his willingness to fictionalize, i.e. to invent the dramatic battles and character descriptions of the Virtues and Vices. The Dante scholar Robert Hollander says: "From Prudentius onward the major tradition of medieval poetry . . . was to accept the role of the poet as fabulist." That is, the poet could invent and fictionalize in order to express his Christian message.[37] However, this has led literary historians and critics to distinguish Dante from this crowd of poets that followed Prudentius' lead. Hollander has argued that while it is possible to read Dante's "*Divine Comedy* as an extended and extensive *Psychomachia*"

(i.e. a soul battle), this would turn the poem into "an abstractionist, reductionist . . . dead branch of moral philosophy."[38] For Hollander, "almost all allegorical fiction before and after Dante behaves differently." Dante's revolutionary achievement flows from his success in integrating (secular) historical events and figures with fictional ones. Under this scheme, the historical personages in the *Psychomachia*, for example Job or Judith, are not true *figurae*, i.e. historical persons who carry typological meaning, but are merely exemplary characters in the sense of being incarnations of abstract qualities like patience or chastity.[39] While giving Prudentius his due, more so than other critics, Hollander nevertheless settles on the conventional view that Prudentius' contribution to literary history is limited, allegedly circumscribed by the *Psychomachia*'s simplistic and inconsistent use of personification and its undeveloped sense of allegorical techniques, adding up to an anomalous use of the standard meter of epic, dactylic hexameter.

After a robust and esteemed reception in the Middle Ages,[40] the modern reception of Prudentius' poetry and his *Psychomachia* as exhibited by Curtius, Auerbach (see note 35), and Hollander has hindered our understanding of Prudentius' rightful place in literary history as a fundamental precursor of Early Modern epic, including those of Spenser, Dante, and Milton. The argument of *Psychomachia* assumes that the "soul battle" is real, that virtues and vices are concrete, historical figures. In her fiery speech (lines 179–89), Arrogance declares that she was actually present in the Garden of Eden, since the historical event of the Fall could not have happened without her. Moreover, she extends her presence to the moment of birth of each individual, meaning that she, a vice, exists inside of the human soul itself. In addition, Prudentius exploits several forms of allegory that interact with each other, including typology, allegorical biblical interpretation, and personification; and in the *Peristephanon*, his hymns to Roman Christian martyrs, he imports historical figures that do not merely stand for abstract concepts, for example, the first Roman kings, Romulus and Numa, who even "become types for the imperial, theological identity of Christ."[41] The *Psychomachia*'s narrative and character construction contains multiple allegorical techniques, including vigorous and expressive exegesis (albeit orthodox), for instance, that the story of Judith in the Old Testament is really about Christ's nature and relationship to the Father (see note to line 30). Since the *Psychomachia* is "an example of a nearly pure allegorical imagination" and establishes the parameters for the representation of inner conflict in poetry, it seems rather arbitrary to limit this poet's influence to the realm of "Christian poets" from whom Dante was able to break free. If Hollander is correct that "the *Roman de la Rose*, Chaucer's dream-vision poems, Spenser's epic [*Faerie Queen*], and Bunyan's dream-journey [*Pilgrim's Progress*]—all owe something to

Prudentius,"[42] then the *Divine Comedy*, with its reinvention of the allegorical journey, experienced by Dante as a real historical event, owes a great deal to the author of the *Psychomachia* as well, if not the details, at least the allegorical conception and historical purpose of his work.[43]

Prudentius' reuse of Vergil, the Bible, and early Church Fathers

Late Antique poets, like their classical forebears, respected the tradition of literature and poets that came before them. Consequently, situating themselves within the tradition while moving on from it was a central concern for Prudentius and his contemporaries. Four hundred years of Latin poetry as well as the Bible and its commentary tradition must have seemed daunting to a Late Antique poet interested in establishing an independent Christian poetry. Poets responded by creatively engaging their diverse and authoritative literary inheritance, both in form and content. Scholars and critics use the terms "intertextuality," "allusion," and "reference" in order to discuss how a poet recalls or reuses the writers and works that came before him. Recently there has been a flurry of scholarly work on intertextuality and reuse in Late Latin poetry.[44]

Scholars have settled on two broad approaches to reuse, allusion, and intertextuality.[45] First, Late Antique Latin poets use the literary tradition according to what scholars of material culture refer to as the concept of *spolia*: architectural and sculptural remnants from previous Roman periods that have been reused to construct a new piece of architecture. For example, the Arch of Constantine reuses reliefs from an arch of Marcus Aurelius, statues from a monument to Trajan, and roundels from a monument to Hadrian. Scholars have applied this model to Late Antique poetry in which "an unprecedented miniaturization of taste" took hold that "privileges the part over the whole and breaks up the literary/artistic experience into a kaleidoscope of sharp close-ups."[46] Unity and wholeness of a work are deemphasized while borrowings from Roman literary tradition signal a "deeply antiquarian commitment to earlier culture."[47] While not disagreeing with this approach, other scholars have followed a more reader-centered idea of allusion and intertextuality in which an empowered reader is the key ingredient to the partnership between author and reader.[48] This is because Late Antique poets furnish either targeted allusions in which a passage's meaning is enhanced by thinking about its relationship to the reused material, or poets produce more open-ended allusions that encourage the reader to take a more prominent role in creating (or not) a relationship between the passage and the reused material.[49]

Prudentius furnishes a unique case in his time. He did not make his *Psychomachia* an amalgamation of direct quotes from Vergil to retell the story of the Fall of Adam and Eve to Christ's death, as does Proba's *Vergilian Cento on the Benefactions of Christ* (c. 385);[50] and he did not compose the *Psychomachia* as an epic rooted in the Roman school tradition of rhetorical paraphrase in order to, again, retell and teach the events from the Fall to the Resurrection as Juvencus does in his *Four Books of the Gospels* (c. 330), even though this work represents a significant development in the history of Christian epic from which Prudentius' poetry would benefit.[51] Rather, Prudentius composed a heroic, allegorical, and didactic epic, the *Psychomachia*, which expands the battle between the virtues and the vices,[52] while moving from explicit references to Vergil and Abraham of the Hebrew Bible to references to the building of the temple in new Jerusalem from the Book of *Revelation*. The *Psychomachia* incorporates the vivid epic drama of the *Aeneid* (especially in the battle scenes), the stories expressed in the simple style of the Bible, and the language of orthodox interpretation of scripture, which was normalized through the creation of the orthodox creed at the councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381) as well as through the patristic tradition of biblical exegesis. All of this makes the *Psychomachia* a fascinating case in the history of early Christian literature.

We can understand better the *Psychomachia*, then, by uncovering and explaining intertextual relationships with Vergil and the Bible. Focusing on the content, i.e. the stories, motifs, and language of the poem has helped to reveal the rich ideology of the *Psychomachia*. As a preeminent example of early Christian poetry, the *Psychomachia* claims to be a universal poem, representing the whole of reality in terms of time (history) and space (the cosmos). This Christian reality, i.e. Salvation History, is constructed by a poetic self and communicated to readers who, along with the poetic self, are situated within that history. They are also part of a large group of readers and writers who seek eternal life. Christians formed an interpretive community in which allusions and intertextual relationships tended to be reciprocally recognized by poet and reader. The *Psychomachia*'s deep allegorical identity encourages such a dynamic, as Prudentius' allegorical constructions and their intertextual relationships were composed in order for the reader to understand what the poet intends.

Two brief examples from the *Aeneid* and *Genesis* illustrate the complexity of Prudentius' intertextual program. In the first line of the poem, Prudentius positions himself squarely in the Roman epic tradition by reusing line 56 from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, the opening address in a prayer

to Apollo, carefully substituting "Christ" for "Apollo" and "human kind" for "Trojans":

> "Christ, you have always pitied the harsh agonies of human kind." (*psych*. 1)
> "Phoebus, you have always pitied the harsh agonies of the Trojans." (*aen*. 6.56)

Two things stand out. First, with this easily recognizable allusion, Prudentius announces that he is writing epic poetry that, by implication, will attempt to rival in some way the Roman master, Vergil. Second, his poem is properly universal, invoking the one god of the cosmos and applying God's actions to all human beings, not merely to one people (see the note to line 1). In another example from the *Preface* to the *Psychomachia*, Prudentius alludes to a series of *Genesis* stories about Abraham, the father of the Jewish nation and Christian belief, in which Christ and the Christian Faith is prefigured. Early Christian thought (and Prudentius) took the visitation of Melchisedec, a mysterious high priest who feeds Abraham bread and wine, and the late pregnancy of Abraham's wife, Sara, to be historical evidence of Christ's divine status and immaculate birth (see notes to 30–32 and 41–50). Moreover, Abraham's defeat of the evil forces of Sodom and Gomorrah and Sara's ability to give birth foreshadow the virtues' victory over the vices in the *Psychomachia* that results in a purified and reborn soul. It serves to plot the battle in our soul on the timeline of Salvation History.

Prudentius' reuse of the Roman poetic and the biblical traditions conforms to his allegorical project.[53] Intertextuality in Prudentius is a dialogue with the source-texts that leads to a dialectic of beliefs, directed by the poet and recognized by the reader. Through the deployment of allusions and intertextual relationships in an allegorical project, the *Psychomachia*'s goal is for the reader to think through and choose between two moral ways of living. In Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, the 6th-century work that became popular in the Middle Ages, the personification, Lady Philosophy, requires the reader along with the main character to think through the history of one's intellectual and spiritual ideas and decide whether to reject them or not. Christian authors tend to present a choice to their readers: either live as an authentic Christian and gain eternal life or live tormented by the pain and ignorance of a non-Christian life that ends in death on Earth. In the *Psychomachia*, the *Aeneid* and Bible are deployed throughout the text to present this choice and persuade readers to make the right choice. For instance, at line 740, the Vergilian phrase, "the inner sanctum of the temple," which referred to the palaces of Dido and Priam in the *Aeneid*, refers to the temple

of the Christian soul and New Jerusalem (see note to line 740). In the next line, Prudentius refers to Wisdom's temple from *Proverbs* 9:1. The reuse of language from both the *Aeneid* and the Bible draws a clear distinction (and choice) between pagan fictional temples and the Christian temple of the soul and Wisdom, which exist within the sweep of Salvation History.

Dante, Milton, and Prudentius

As Curtius observed, the *Divine Comedy* responds to the ancient quarrel between poetry and philosophy/theology by transgressing the boundaries between these two traditionally opposed views of knowledge. Ancient philosophers like Plato and Patristic thinkers like Augustine criticized poetry for its propensity toward fiction and praised philosophy for its uncompromising goal of truth. Theology, unlike philosophy, does not depend on empirical or rational arguments (i.e. human observation and thinking) to support its claims of truth. Rather it relies on revealed and authoritative divine truths that may or may not proceed from empirical and rational argument. Consequently, the epistemic distance between the poet and the theologian is less than that between the poet and the philosopher. However, for early Christian and Medieval writers, a significant distance remained, summed up in the following question: if a poem is fictional, "a beautiful lie," how can it express the truth and authority of God's Word, which is real and historical? Prudentius and Dante responded by adapting the allegorical methods of biblical interpretation employed by theologians in order to infuse poetry's fictional core with the truths of biblical exegesis, typological allegory, and personification allegory.

Boccaccio, Dante's younger contemporary and an accomplished poet and humanist, wrote in his *Life of Dante* that "theology and poetry [are] almost one thing," that is, "'theology is nothing other than poetry of God." For him, Dante achieved this highest standard. Curtius follows Boccaccio when he calls Dante's self-fashioning as a *poeta theologus* the solution to the ancient quarrel between the philosophers and the poets that Plato had inaugurated and the poetry of Prudentius endeavored to resolve.[54] In the very first sentence of the *Convivio*, Dante's wide-ranging set of commentaries on a variety of issues, he refers to the legendary Orpheus, who was one of the original *poetae theologi* of the ancient world (*conv*. 2.1.3). Augustine had understood "the theological poets" to be Homer, Hesiod, and Orpheus, who composed poetry about the hierarchies, functions, and origins of the gods (*civ*. 18.25). Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century and later Francis Bacon (17th century) use the term *poeta theologus* for these poets. But it is the Early Modern humanist poet and contemporary of Dante, Albertino

Mussato (1261–1329), who codifies the term as a poet who reconciles poetry ("a science sent down from heaven") with philosophy and theology: "Philosophy, theology, and poetry are fused into one."[55] Dante achieved a full "theological poetics,"[56] in which the truth of divine Salvation History, with its philosophical and theological truths, can be expressed through the rhetoric of poetry. But it is Prudentius who stands at the beginning of the Christian tradition of the *poeta-theologus*, integrating personification allegory with typological allegory and biblical exegesis; for instance, Chastity is a typological exemplar for Judith, who is the same for the reader, and for Mary, who herself, in turn, is a type for the Immaculate Conception. Such a poetic program helped to legitimize non-liturgical poetry and address the "Augustinian challenge" of a spiritual journey as well as the rejection of literary fame.[57]

The *poeta-theologus* reconciles what had seemed impossible, the truth of the Bible's doctrines and history with the fictionality of poetry. Like Augustine in the *Confessions* and Dante in the *Divine Comedy*, Prudentius inserts the individual's spiritual journey into this true, sacred history. Specifically, the *Psychomachia* assumes that the reader is the main actor in the psychological drama of the virtues and vices, a poetic fiction that writes biblical and historical truth. For Prudentius and Dante, figural/allegorical interpretation of scripture was transformed into figural/allegorical poetry in which figures retain their historical reality through being fulfilled by other figures, both in the collective history that follows and in the real lives of individual readers themselves. To read the *Divine Comedy* is to focus on the character of Dante and by extension the self. To read the *Psychomachia* is to contemplate the self directly. The reader is plunged into an imaginary, but real, landscape of the soul, populated by scenes and figures from both fictional poetry and true biblical history.

In the *Convivio* and in his letter to his friend *Can Grande della Scala*, Dante explains how to read the *Divine Comedy*, especially how his understanding of allegory and interpretation works. Putting on the hat of the critic in order to aid the reader's interpretation, Dante says that his poem is "polysemy," possessing several levels of meaning. That is, the literal sense of the text yields to the allegorical sense (an underlying meaning), which can also include a moral sense and an anagogical sense (spiritual and eschatological). So, for instance, Dante says that the meaning of the Exodus is Christ's redemption of humanity, the soul's conversion from the struggles with sin, and the soul moving on to eternal life (*can gr*. 7 and *conv*. 1.1.3). The *Convivio* prioritizes the method of fourfold exegesis of scripture over allegory as other-meaning discourse, over personification, and over allegorical interpretations of Vergil and Ovid's epics.[58] The modes of allegory in the *Divine Comedy* work together both to

create a full picture of the poet's words and to preserve the different meanings that function in relation to each other. The other-meaning, moral, and anagogical senses of the text are independently true, but also are united by means of an absolute truth originating from God. The allegorical, moral, and anagogical truths of the Exodus, for instance, come together to signify the absolute truth of Christian Salvation History. Many critics for good reason focus on Augustine as the source of Dante's approach because Dante himself tells us that Augustine inspired him.[59] However, like Dante, Prudentius' use of personification, typology, and exegesis—forms of allegory that include Dante's list from the *Convivio* and *Letter to Can Grande*—help to build a clear picture of Salvation History, both in terms of the poem writ large and applied to a story such as the Exodus.[60]

The first Canto of the *Inferno* establishes Prudentian features as a foundation for the whole *Divine Comedy*. First, the author/pilgrim, like Prudentius (see *praef*. 1–6), is a having mid-life crisis and finds himself in the "dark woods" (*selva oscura*, *inf*. 1.2); like Prudentius he has lived a public life of politics and ambition, which will change through the adoption of a new, authentically Christian life—a conversion of sorts;[61] and like Prudentius, Dante's conversion is figured, at least initially, as a battle between earthly desires and virtues. Moreover, in Canto 1 of the *Inferno*, Dante encounters three creatures with ambiguous yet intelligible allegorical meanings as vices: the leopard, which signifies lust or fraud; the lion, which stands for pride or violence; and the wolf, which represents greed or incontinence and was sent out from hell by the vice, Envy.[62] These vices occupy the "lake of the heart," where our passions reside and inner conflict takes place.[63] Later in Canto 1 Dante conjures another creature, the "Hound" (*Veltro*), which feeds off of wisdom, goodness, and love to destroy creatures like the wolf (*inf*. 100–104). In addition to this allegory of spiritual warfare, Dante, like Prudentius, widens the field of reference to politics and history when he associates the Hound with contemporary political reform, recalling the civil war that took place at the founding of Rome and in his contemporary Florence.[64] This Roman and contemporary political context dovetails with Dante's direct invocation of the voice of Vergil as the authoritative epic poet, who calls his charge, the character Dante, to ascend the mountain to spiritual freedom and peace (*inf*. 1.68–78). While Prudentius does not explicitly invoke Vergil, which would have been seen as a betrayal of Christianity in the 4th century, he establishes his own epic authority, as Dante does, through the explicit presence of Vergil's language and ideas in the *Psychomachia*.

At the end of the *Divine Comedy*, lines 115–45 of the 33rd Canto of the *Paradiso*, Dante invokes the impossibility of describing and understanding

the sight of the Trinity (the three circles, 127–28) in words. "O how limited are our words, and how feebly/my mind can see! And this description, compare/to that sight, would be dignified if I termed it puny."[65] Here at the conclusion of his monumental journey and poem, Dante expresses the limits of both poetry and theology to describe the divine. Even though he takes "the allegorical sense according to the usage of the poets" and not according to the theologians (*conv*. 2.1.4), poetry, like theology, can only take him so far because it is constructed from human language. Both poetry and theology are insufficient to the task of description and understanding of the divine. These issues occupied Prudentius as well, having employed typological allegories in an attempt to explain the unexplainable. Prudentius as well saw the limits of language, but ultimately, like Dante, chose poetry as the human activity that comes closest to explaining the divine. This choice is central to the essence of the *poeta theologus*.

The *Psychomachia* closed the gap between poetry and theology through its expanded use of personification and typological allegory. Prudentius applies his own version of the Christian four-fold exegesis of the Bible in poetry, merging what Dante would later call "the allegory of the poets" and "the allegory of the theologians." He dared to combine the literal and historical truths of biblical content and their moral and anagogic meanings with the fictionalizing of poetry. This requires us to read the poem according to two fundamental and, I believe, evident assumptions: that the psychological world of the *Psychomachia* is meant to be understood as real, i.e. an authentic representation of the human soul in history, and that the personifications are types like Old Testament figures who not only stand for their own existence in time and space but also point to the time and presence of the reader. That is, they relate our history now (literal sense) to how we should behave now (the moral sense), and to God's plan for us going forward (the anagogical sense). In this way, Prudentius paved the way for Dante to succeed at composing "an imitation of God's writing,"[66] wherein Christian poetry strives toward the truth and authority of biblical scripture. In his *Letter to Can Grande*, Dante tells us how to understand his use of allegory in the *Divine Comedy*: "The subject . . . taken in a literal sense is the state of souls after death (*status animarum post mortem*). . . . If [taken] . . . allegorically (*allegorice*), the subject is man as he is liable to punishment or to his just reward by his merits or demerits through the freedom of his judgement" (*can grande* 8). The purpose and program of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* focuses on the state of the soul while on Earth and the reward of living virtuously through choices that our free will bestows. These are choices between Virtues and Vices, Old and New Testament types (Abraham, Job, Judith, Judas, etc.), and between orthodox and heretical doctrines.

Like Dante, the English epic poet John Milton is part of a literary inheritance that begins with Prudentius' poetry and, in particular, his *Hamartigenia* and the *Psychomachia*. In *Paradise Lost* (second edition published in 1674), Milton alludes to the Exodus story and *Aeneid* 6 in the same passage (*PL* 301–13). Both stories have been understood as forms of *katabasis*, the soul's descent into death (or hell) followed by a re-ascent into life. Aeneas joins other pagan heroes like Odysseus in the *Odyssey* who undergo this initiation, while Christian exegetical tradition saw Israel's liberation and escape from Egypt also as indicating individual rebirth and resurrection. Similar to Milton, Prudentius juxtaposes the two *katabatic* stories during the battle between Good Works and Greed and shortly thereafter (*psych*. 650–64).[67]

Milton's epic sets the stage for humanity's spiritual warfare through the telling of the creation of humanity and fall of Adam and Eve, the latter of which occurred because of the battle and expulsion from heaven of Satan and his army of fallen angels. Prudentius' *Hamartigenia*, which chronicles the same topics in dactylic hexameters, is a direct predecessor to *Paradise Lost*. Martha Malamud recently examined the relationship between the two poems, arguing that Prudentius' poetry "anticipates the Christian worldview and the sophisticated allegorical and linguistic experiments of his successors Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton."[68] In his "radically experimental verse," Prudentius would pass onto Milton not only a strong visual language and vivid imagery but also elaborate and enigmatic word play at important thematic moments in his works.[69] In the *Hamartigenia*, the character of the Devil furnishes guideposts for Milton's Satan. For instance, Prudentius is the first to portray the Devil as an anthropomorphic creature rather than the serpent of *Genesis*.[70] *Ham*. 389–431 depicts the Devil with his henchmen, the Vices, attacking human souls, a scene pointing toward the soul battle of the *Psychomachia* and Satan's character in *Paradise Lost*. Prudentius' Devil and Milton's Satan develop the coils of a snake (*ham*. 195–200, 265–72, and *PL* 9.496–503) and give birth to Sin from their heads (*ham*. 158–59 and *PL* 2.746–60). However, the most significant relationship between the two works of poetry, according to Malamud, is the human "confusion that results from the loss of natural language," which was destroyed after the Fall. In an expansion of the trope of language's inability to describe and encompass the divine, language has become unreliable due to the error and uncertainty of Original Sin, a problem for poets and readers. Both Prudentius and Milton clarify this state of affairs by constructing the figure of the Devil/Satan as the source and symbol of deceptive and dangerous speech. Prudentius and Milton withhold the Devil/Satan's name (*ham*.127–41; *PL* 1.33–82) and identify him with Nimrod (*ham*. 143; *PL* 12.33–36), who is

the source of linguistic confusion (*ham*. 272–75; *PL* 12.56–62).[71] Like the *Psychomachia* and *Hamartigenia*, *Paradise Lost* depicts a dark and treacherous hell-scape; and whereas Milton entrusts humanity's perilous spiritual state after the Fall to Providence (*PL* 12.646–49), Prudentius in the *Hamartigenia* pessimistically hopes for a mild divine punishment (*ham*. 966) and in the *Psychomachia* the possibility of winning a perpetual battle within the soul (*psych*. 899–909).

In *Paradise Lost*, Christ the Son, who is consubstantial with the Father, remains the key protagonist in this cosmic drama, volunteering to take on the sins of Adam and Eve in order to redeem humanity. Eve's freely taken choice and acquiescence to temptation of partaking of the forbidden Tree of Knowledge prefigures every human's interior battle between virtue and vice. Consequently, the motif of spiritual warfare is present throughout *Paradise Lost* (e.g. *PL* 1.535; 4.977; and 12.485); most notably at *PL* 6. 750–70, where God's chariot is described with Prudentian splendor, bejeweled and part of an army of a myriad of saints and 20,000 more chariots ready to engage in battle.[72] For Milton, like Prudentius, this is civil war (*PL* 2.1001; 6.210, 258, and 897–98 and *psych*. lines 5, 394–401, 640–41, and 765–74) because the legions of fallen angels and Satan, once part of God's legion of angels, are ready to battle their former "countrymen." Civil war between right and wrong and virtue and vice as a collective notion is applied to the interior of the individual and is part of the philosophical tradition of the analogy between city and soul.[73] Prudentius explicitly turns the civil war inward, figured as a choice between virtue and vice, while Milton suggests the interior conflict through the military narrative of *Paradise Lost* and his exploration of the motives and psychology of Adam and Eve for their catastrophic choice.

Milton tells the story of this war, both the initial rebellion in which Satan and his followers were expelled from heaven (as Adam and Eve would be expelled from Paradise) and the continuous battle of humanity against evil after the Fall as integral to Salvation History. From the first book, when Milton integrates the Exodus, the fall of Rome, and the Last Judgement (*PL* 1.331–63), to the twelfth book, where Christ the Son furnishes himself as the endpoint of history, Christian Salvation History is central to the poem's overall conception. Like Prudentius, Milton affirms allegoresis, i.e. the interpretation of biblical texts as either containing hidden meanings or historical types (models) that indicate future events, as his method for clarifying Salvation History ("informing them, by types/And shadows," *PL* 12.232–33).[74] Milton does employ personifications, most strikingly at *PL* 2.960–66 when, after leaving Hell, Satan encounters the realm of enthroned Chaos with his consort Night and attendants Rumor, Chance, Tumult,

Confusion, and Discord.[75] Finally, certain scenes and linguistic phrases in *Paradise Lost* hearken back to the allegorical world of the *Psychomachia*. For instance, when addressing his evil army, Satan says, "Will ye submit your necks . . .?" (*PL* 5.787); and when addressing her army in the face of Luxury, Moderation in the *Psychomachia* similarly remarks, "To whom are you offering your neck?" (295 [351–52]).[76] This series of connections reflects a profound affinity between *Paradise Lost* and Prudentius' poetry that exists not primarily as a list of direct, intertextual references, but more as a product of poets who operated within similar literary systems of ideology, conventions, and poetics.

Although Prudentius is viewed as the father of Christian allegorical poetry, a singular distinction in European literary history, this critical judgment has unnecessarily separated the poet and his *Psychomachia* from the celebrated literary trajectory that begins with Vergil, is taken up by Augustine, and flows through Dante and Milton. Vergil's *Aeneid* is the first term in this literary historical series since Aeneas' journey of self-discovery and collective identity profoundly animates the *Confessions* of Augustine, the *Divine Comedy* of Dante, and *Paradise Lost* of Milton. But there is another factor that has marginalized Prudentius' work from the kind of interpretative and literary historical analysis that "the big three" have received.[77] It begins with Augustine, whose dismissive and hostile arguments against non-liturgical Christian poetry helped to marginalize all Christian poetry except hymns. Rather than being "unaware of the [Christian] poetry of his own time," Augustine appears to simply ignore it because the poetic ambitions of Prudentius or Paulinus of Nola abandon his rule that the style, diction, and syntax of poetry must be simple so that common people could absorb Christian doctrine without difficulty—certainly, poetry's association with fiction did not help.[78] Finally, the *Psychomachia* passes on to the medieval and early modern literary tradition an existential project in which the self's communion with God is possible and the self's retrenchment as a conscious thing lies "in the transcendent principle of its being, in the greater good beyond."[79]

Text, translation, and notes

The text of the *Psychomachia* comes down to us through several hundred manuscripts dating from the 6th to the 11th centuries as well as illuminated manuscripts through the 15th century.[80] This rich manuscript tradition testifies to Prudentius' popularity throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. He caught the attention of prominent intellectuals and writers, including Erasmus, who imitated him in verse and wrote commentaries on his

Cathemerinon 11 and 12. The manuscript tradition does suffer from contamination in which there is no consistency in agreement for errors for the various branches of manuscripts. While this may have hindered progress since the edition of J. Bergman in 1926 (somewhat improved upon by Cunningham's edition of 1966), scholars agree that the text is relatively secure though they have engaged in lively debate on questions of the initial publication and subsequent transmission of the corpus as a whole and the *Psychomachia* in particular. For example, certain passages have two readings (e.g. *praef psych*. 41–2, 60), raising the possibilities of separate editions by Prudentius himself or by an editor or even later interpolation.[81] The translation follows the text of Cunningham, and the notes address only the most consequential textual debates.

The translation endeavors to be accessible to the 21st-century reader but also to reflect the intensity, speed, and rhetorical density of Prudentius' Latin.[82] The translator of Latin hexameters into English verse faces a choice of either employing a short line consisting of a ten-syllabled pentameter (e.g. S. Ruden, *Aeneid*, Yale 2009) or using a longer line of English (free verse) to reflect the actual Latin line of verse (e.g. R. Fagles, *Aeneid*, Penguin 2008). The former has the advantage of discreet, economic units of language that result in readable and pleasing verse. The disadvantage is that pentameters can sacrifice faithfulness to the original Latin and can have a staccato-like, repetitive effect. The longer line allows the translator to be more faithful to the Latin, but with the possibility of burdening the reader with lines of verse that become plodding and produce a halting effect in the middle of the line. I have endeavored to exploit the best of both approaches by constructing lines of verse that adhere closely to the Latin in meaning but contain discreet and flowing units of English. This approach echoes the unique effect of Prudentius' Latin on the reader: namely, a rhetorical quality that checks the reader's pace, forcing her to pause on vivid descriptions, yet simultaneously propels the reader forward by means of the emotional and even violent intensity of language and vision.

This goal can be achieved without the use of iambic trimeters of the *Preface* or dactylic hexameters of the main poem. Prudentius' feel for these meters follows closely in the style of Horace and Vergil respectively.[83] Evidence for this is his use of elision, an unpronounced or blended vowel at the end of one word because of a vowel at the beginning of the following word, and the caesura, the division that occurs when a word ends in the middle of typically the third or fourth metrical foot. Both the *Psychomachia* and the *Aeneid* employ elisions and spondaic feet with the same frequency, as well as the caesura mostly in the third foot. Both authors favor the coincidence of metrical beat and word accent, which creates a smooth rhythm. However,

one major difference concerning meter between the two authors is that Prudentius, unlike Vergil and most classical poets, does not feel the need to vary verses with respect to the combination of dactyls and spondees. In fact, in successive lines Prudentius repeats the same combination 68 times and even repeats a combination in three lines five times.

Prudentius' epic style tends to emulate but not parrot Vergil's, as is reflected in the frequency and use of allusions to the *Aeneid* throughout the *Psychomachia*.[84] Just as Vergil's diction and language can be challenging and surprising, straining the limits of Latinity,[85] so too does Prudentius' use of classical Latin words with a view to the creation of a Christian Latin discourse stretch traditional modes of poetic expression: for instance, "Mother Virtue" (10), "passion for violence" (433), and the language of Jesus as mediator (646–50 and note). Moreover, similar to Vergil's iconic epic, themes and motifs in the *Psychomachia* pop up in other places in the text, stimulating an intra-textual perspective, wherein two or more passages within the poem, taken together, enlighten each other. For example, Prudentius uses the term *spiritus* in several places in his poem to mean the "divine spirit" or eternal spirit" that infuses the soul of a proper Christian or, more specifically, "Holy Spirit," which refers to the third member of the Christian Trinity.[86] Another example is the motif of civil war, which Prudentius employs to represent inner psychological conflict and the Roman historical past as the context for salvation.[87]

On a smaller scale, Prudentius matches Vergil's penchant for stylistic ambiguity and paradox. The frequency of the figures of speech, oxymoron (contradiction), and hypallage (a transferred epithet) in the *Aeneid* point to bigger units of poetic and ideological paradox.[88] For the French editor and commentator, M. Lavarenne, Prudentius' attempt at stretching and expanding Latin poetic discourse more often than not resulted in a series of "vague and twisted expressions," producing overall "obscurity" that "puts off the reader."[89] Lavarenne saw in the poet a lack of finesse and restraint, stemming from the poet's portrayal of graphic violence, abrupt transitions, and unclear formulations. But these "flaws" are really just instances of Prudentius' experimental style as he delights in oxymoronic juxtapositions (437, "learned, unlearned" and "pure, and impure") and implicit transitions (383–403, alternating between Greed's personified henchmen and soldiers fighting a civil war). While no longer as pronounced in recent scholarship and criticism, this critique, which can undervalue the alternating pace and varying emotion of the poem, still has the capability of casting a shadow over the appreciation of the *Psychomachia* and its place in literary history.

Consequently, the notes in this volume attempt to furnish information for a modern reader to appreciate the *Psychomachia* and hence have four functions:

first to clarify and explain the relationship of the English in the translation to the Latin text. In order to achieve a balance between the literal and the readable, especially for a rhetorically dense line, I have sometimes condensed or expanded the meaning of several Latin words into a clear but nuanced English expression,[90] while smoothing out Prudentius' sometimes sudden transitions between larger units of thought and narrative. Second, the notes include information about the historical, religious, and literary contexts of Prudentius' times. Because Prudentius is a "consumptive" author, one whose writing encompasses to an astonishing degree the depth and complexity of the Roman world of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, the notes aim to give readers what they need to know about the Bible, early Christian doctrine, Roman history, and Roman literature to understand Prudentius' meaning. Third, the notes give ample references to the Bible and both pagan and Christian authors in order to peel back the multi-layered material that reveals the power of the *Psychomachia*. Finally, the notes attempt to demonstrate the uniqueness of the *Psychomachia* through its use of dynamic language and multiple literary traditions, a combination that achieves a restless and complicated work of art. The battle within and for the soul between the virtues and the vices represents humanity at its most precarious state, a reoccurring moment in time in which our lives could go for the better or for the worse.

Notes

1 Dodds (1965: 133) points to a series of psycho-social conditions that spurred the growth of Christianity: exclusivity—totalizing creed attractive in an age of anxiety; inclusivity—paradoxically, Christianity was open to all ("an army of the disenfranchised," Origen c. *cels*.1.27); the denigration of earthly life—physical and materialist pleasures were inferior to the pursuits of the spirit; and community—galvanized by facing a common enemy as well as by philanthropy and charity (Julian *ep*. 84. 429d).
2 Clark (2011: 4).
3 Clark (2011: 63).
4 Hershkowitz (2017: 18–19) performs a geographical survey of *pe.* 4, a hymn to the 18 martyrs of Caesaraugusta (modern Saragossa), which includes martyrs from cities in northern Spain and southern Gaul. She concludes that such attention to this region here and elsewhere points to Prudentius' concern with his regional and local audiences, arguing that he was primarily a Spanish poet who was responding to the religious context of the region. According to Hershkowitz, Prudentius did not primarily see himself as a "Roman" poet and was not particularly connected to the Roman political and cultural elite.
5 Mastrangelo (2008: 81); also, Hardie (2019: 208), Smith (1976: 27–28, chapter 4).
6 Von Albrecht **(**1997: vol. 2, 1361, 1363).
7 Prudentius must have understood that the didactic conventions, which ground Lucretius' didactic-epic poem, the *Nature of Things*, such as its deification of Epicurus (*DRN* 5) and celebration of the victory of Epicurus' teachings in the

soul (*DRN* 5.43–51)—both of which applied to Jesus and the *Psychomachia*, confirm a blend of martial and didactic epic (Smolak 1992: 128–29).

8 Most of what is known about Prudentius' life comes from his *Preface* to the poems and the *Peristephanon*. For Calagurris as his hometown, see O'Daly (2012: 2), Richardson (2017: 2), and Peltarri (2019: 3). All three of these authors furnish an excellent account of Prudentius' life.

9 Peltarri (2019: 24–29).

10 The numbers within the brackets represent the Latin line numbers, while those outside the brackets represent line numbers of the translation.

11 For the memory as the seat of time in human beings and the present as containing the past and future, see *conf*. 10.3.4 and 11.18.23.

12 Peltarri (2014: 84–85) defends this general claim; also, Whitman (1987: 4): "Although personification develops episodically in classical literature, its first full-scale deployment occurs . . . with the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius" (see also Quilligan 1979: 19). See Madsen (1994: 67) for the *Psychomachia*'s personifications as mediating figures who stand between God and human beings.

13 Lines 4–7 of the *Preface* to the *Psychomachia* allude to the most famous story about Abraham, his willingness to sacrifice his son, Isaac, to God. Nonetheless, that story affirms the Old Testament patriarch's faith as double-sided: unconditional belief and the willingness to act on it.

14 Quintilian, *inst*. 8.6.44 and Frye (1957: 90).

15 Fletcher (1964: 317–21) observes that in allegories, commentaries tend to engulf narrative; similarly, Quilligan (1979: 98); and Madsen (1994: 66) concludes that allegorical narrative suggests an interior quest (struggle) for sacred knowledge.

16 Barney (1979: 42) lists the aesthetic conditions of 4th-century Roman culture that made Prudentius' allegorical poem "almost inevitable:" a demythologized classical pantheon; knowledge of the rhetorical figures such as metaphor, personification, and typology; the tradition of satire, and the allegoresis of the Bible and Homer.

17 See also Prudentius' *cath*. 6. 125–28. The connection of writing the sign of the cross on the forehead with oil after baptism is attested at Ambrose *de Isaac* 8.75 and Jerome at *ep*.130.9.

18 For the discourse of parts of the soul, see Plato *rep*. 440B-E and 444B; see 435A for harmony of the soul against the forces of discord. Freud (1961: 28–29) outlines inner conflict according to the super-ego's repressive, "harsh aggressiveness" towards the ego.

19 Whitman (1987) 31; On the allegorical interpretive tradition for Homer, see Lowe (2008: 416).

20 Lowe (2008: 417).

21 Lowe (2008: 417).

22 Feeney (1993: 337–64) argues that the figure of the fury is central in the divine allegory of the cosmos. Lowe (2008: 424) goes even further, claiming that they are "the source from which . . . personifications gain their new ambiguity as compositional allegories. They lend their physical characteristics and their ontological ambiguity."

23 Lines 757–69 give the ending a pessimistic tone as the poet asks, "How often after our shining joys does our warm, heavenly nature yield to foul desires?" (766–68).

24 For "discontinuities" in Prudentius' allegorical composition, see Whitman (1987: 87–90). Coming off of Whitman, Machovsky (2013: 65–66) argues that these discontinuities point to allegory as not "a metaphysical structure (or aesthetic category);" and on 68: "the events of the *Psychomachia* do not occur within history or time, but outside of it, and indifferent to it." For an opposing view to Whitman, see Madsen (1994: 72–73).
25 Lyotard quoted by Szili (2007: 272) from Lyotard (1984). On narrative literary history, see Wellek (1972) and on postmodern views of literary history, see Szili (2007).
26 Hershkowitz (2017: 8 and 69) argues that Prudentius was not primarily a Roman poet writing for a Roman elite or for immortality in the Roman literary tradition but should be understood first as a regional poet who wished to disseminate God's message in his Spanish homeland and southern Gaul.
27 Szili (2007: 272).
28 The *Complaint of Nature*'s general scheme recalls the *Psychomachia*, as *Natura* gathers the virtues to take on evil.
29 Warner (2005).
30 *Secr*. 19–20 and 72. In the *Secretum*, Petrarch constructs a dialogue with him and Augustine, in which through an encounter with "Lady Truth" he helps Petrarch to reject worldly things, including the rewards of poetry, and instead to follow the true path to God.
31 Mastrangelo (2009).
32 Mastrangelo (2009: 319).
33 Curtius (1991: 459) gives many examples of important medieval figures who construct canonical lists that include Prudentius such as Isidore of Seville (630), Notker Balbulus (890), Winrech Treves (1075), Conrad Hirsau (c. 1125), and Eberhard (13th cent.). Isidore of Seville in a poem favorably compares Prudentius to Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Persius, and Statius even though he prefers pagan poetry. *Si Maro si Flaccus si Naso et Persius horret / Lucanus si te Papiniusque tedet, / pareat eximio dulcis Prudentius ore / Carminibus variis nobilis ille satis* ("If Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Persius terrify you, if Lucan and Statius warm you, It is clear that that sweet Prudentius is sufficiently noble with his exceptional language and varied poems", *carm*. 11.1–4).
34 Prudentius personifies Rome as a Christian State (*symm*. 2.649–768) and describes Rome's cosmic and sacred historical mission (*symm*. 1.287–902; 2.583–640; and *pe*. 2.413–40). Augustine rejects Rome as a just city (*civ*. 19.21) and views her as just another empire in Salvation History like the Assyrians and Persians (*civ*. 5.21).
35 Curtius (1991: 459–59). Similarly, Auerbach (1993: 195) calls Prudentius "a transitional phenomenon" because he cannot be wholly identified with the *sermo humilis*, a term of style that refers positively to the plain language of the Bible, "far simpler and less rhetorical than" pagan literature, and the preferred style of Christian authors. Auerbach sees Claudian, Sidonius, and Boethius hearkening back to pagan tradition; whereas Prudentius, though certainly sharing much with his pagan literary forebears, possesses a "rhetorical, moralistic, static, descriptive, and didactic" style, what Auerbach calls a "ceremonious *epideixis*." *Sermo humilis* was the staple of genres having to do with daily life of the Church and its congregation, e.g. sermons, apologetics, and polemics. For Auerbach, Prudentius falls under neither *sermo humilis* nor classical pagan style

in an era in which the Church, having rejected the pagan literary tradition, was nevertheless to become its preserver (Auerbach 1993: 336).

36 Springer 1988: 71 follows Curtius' prioritization of Sedulius' and biblical epic: "his biblical epic not only harks back to the literary heritage of classical antiquity but also anticipates developments in European literature which come to full fruition in the Middle Ages and thereafter;" and later, "for the Carolingians Sedulius enjoyed a reputation as a poet equal or even superior to Vergil" (132). This line of literary inheritance begins with Sedulius (c. 450) includes other biblical epicists such as Avitus (c. 450-c.518), Arator (c. 550), i.e. poets who transformed Old Testament and New Testament stories to epic poetry. While Prudentius is mentioned by Carolingians and Petrarch (*ecl*. 10. 311) as a member of the canon of Christian epicists, he does not engage in extended biblical paraphrase like the others (Springer 1988: 123).

37 Hollander (1969: 54). Allegory has a didactic function, which is effective through producing pleasure, the Lucretian poetics of honey-coated bitter medicine.

38 Hollander (1969: 253).

39 Hollander (1969: 255): "Job is not a *figura* of this lady *Patientia*: He is an embodiment of the characteristic(s) she also represents. They are related exemplarily, not figurally." For example, Hollander understands *Inf. canto* 5 as having the allegorical concept of lust, the exemplum of Vergil's Dido, and the historical *figura* of Francesca, who is a "real" person of Dante's own times.

40 See Vest (1932) for the fullest treatment of Prudentius' presence and popularity in the Middle ages. O'Sullivan (2004: 3–21) demonstrates the canonical status of Prudentius' poetry in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries in the Carolingian and Ottonian worlds: "The *Psychomachia*, in particular, received most attention, providing medieval exegetes with a powerful image of spiritual warfare" (20).

41 Mastrangelo (2008: 75).

42 Hollander (1969: 6).

43 19th-century critics understood that the elaborate allegorical model of Spenser's *Faerie Queen* with its personifications and biblical interpretations came from the *Psychomachia* (Tunison 1879). Like Prudentius, Spenser employs typologies to teach Salvation History: Creation-Fall-Redemption-Second Coming-Final Judgment (Kaske 1999). As with the *Psychomachia*, Book 1 of the *Faerie Queen* ranges from *Genesis* to *Revelation* in its allegorical references. Spenser focuses on a multitude of virtues, including Temperance (Book 2), Justice (Book 5), and Chastity (Books 3–4). Although Spenser names Aristotle as a source for these virtues (Thomas Aquinas is the likely conduit from Aristotle), it remains that the medieval allegorical tradition, proceeding from Prudentius, plays a significant role.

44 Roberts (1989), Peltarri (2014), Mastrangelo (2016), Elsner and Hernández Lobato (2017), and Kaufman (2017). See also the excellent summary in O'Hogan (2019: 308–10).

45 See Pucci (1998: 3–7) for useful definitions of allusion and intertextuality. Hardie (2019) has argued that the attempt to see a unique approach or pattern of reuse in Late Antique poets is futile. Late Antique texts like the *Psychomachia* are no different on the whole from late Republic and imperial Latin poetry regarding their fundamental reuse of prior literary works: "I am not persuaded by various attempts to diagnose a quantum shift in writers' and readers' responses to earlier texts;" and similarly, "blanket definitions of a late antique aesthetic or

poetics seem to me to be more of a hindrance than a help" Hardie (2019: 3). For the majority of early Christian poets, Hardie sees Charlet's "Theodosian renaissance" as more applicable in that poets resume the practices of the earlier Latin poetic tradition.

46 Hernandez Lobato and Elsner (2017b: 11), who, like Roberts (1989: 97), apply the aesthetic of material culture to poetic texts.

47 Hernandez Lobato and Elsner (2017b: 18). O'Hogan (2019: 309) furnishes another helpful summary of Roberts' ideas and the discussion that followed them: "The attention to individual words that characterizes late antique intertextual studies can also be seen in . . . links in creative approaches taken by poets and plastic artists . . . especially a tendency towards fragmentation and miniaturization, an emphasis on the visually appealing, and the isolation of 'independent units' (words, stones) within larger works of art."

48 Pucci (1998: viii) makes the point that not until the development of Christian rhetoric in Late Antiquity, which emphasized an empowered reader, did allusion become "a legitimated rhetorical figure in the western literary tradition." Peltarri (2014: 4–9): "in the fourth century Latin West, the reader gained a new prominence . . . Poets structured their work for its future activation, and they invited readers to participate in making sense of their texts" (9).

49 Peltarri (2014). Kaufman (2017) makes this process more transparent by providing a sliding scale, which ranges from allusions that contribute to the meaning of a passage to allusions that are irrelevant to the meaning of a passage. See also the helpful summary of this approach in McGill and Pucci (2016: 8–9).

50 For bibliography, see Harich-Schwarzbauer (2007: 890).

51 In his volume in this series on Juvencus' *Four Books of the Gospels*, Scott McGill discusses how Juvencus epicizes the Gospel story to give it grandeur primarily for the purpose of praise. Juvencus includes himself in the august tradition of epic that stretches back to Vergil and Homer (Preface to *ELQ* 6–14), not as a poet looking to preserve his own fame, but as a poet seeking salvation through his writing though his work will perish with the whole world. For Juvencus, poetry is linked with baptism and rebirth (*Preface* to *ELQ* 25–27). See McGill (2017: 6–10).

52 Critics have traditionally understood Tertullian's *de spect*. 29, Cyprian's *On Immortality* 4, and Ambrose's On *Cain and Abel* 1.4.13 as sources for Prudentius' expansion of the battle between the Virtues and the Vices, but Hanna (1977) interrogates this conventional wisdom focusing on the Pauline Epistles, Genesis, and other patristic passages as a more productive way to discuss Prudentius' sources.

53 Hardie (1998: 89) speaks of a tension between "the allegorical drive to fix categories on the author's side and the resistance to interpretative fixation." For the latter, Hardie may be referring to modern, secular readers. However, an ancient Christian reader is more likely to accept "interpretative fixation. This is not to say that Prudentian allusions and intertextual relationships are all determinate. On the contrary, in the *Psychomachia*, the reader is confronted with various levels of allusion and intertextuality; for instance, Abraham as the clear symbol of steadfast faith, and certain scenes' use of Vergilian epic language in actual battle (and other) scenes to engender a general epic tone (For P's use of Vergil see also Lükhen 2002). Ambiguity is part and parcel of the *Psychomachia*, as it is populated with personifications, historical figures, and fictional descriptions.

54 Mastrangelo (2017) argues that Prudentius and Boethius, in addition to Dante (Curtius 1991: 217) resolve the quarrel which, by the early Christian era, had morphed into an insoluble conflict between the truths of scripture and falseness of poetry.
55 See Mussato's *Epistle* 4 and 7 with Curtius (1953: 215–16).
56 Curtius (1991: 216). At 219 Curtius adds that Isadore of Seville adapted Late Antique grammarians' concept of the poet as theologian, and from there "it becomes common property of the entire Middle Ages."
57 It is typical of P. and other Christian poets not to emphasize their role as poets or trumpet their originality. In P.'s proem, there are no first-person singular verbs or pronouns, no reference to style, performance, or writing. Contrast, for example, Lucretius *DRN* 1.24–28, Vergil *georg*. 3.2–42, or Nemesianus *cyneg*. 1–102. Instead he emphasizes preparing for immortal life in Christian Salvation History and sees his own contribution as peripheral: he calls himself a "worn out vessel" (*obsoletum vasculum*, *epil*. 26). P. intensifies Christ's centrality to poetry: Christ's heroic identity and story form the basis of the possibility of salvation; he is the source of poetic inspiration; and he guarantees the truth of P.'s poetic statements **(**Pollmann 2013**)**. Other Christian poets do not furnish Christ with all three programmatic functions.
58 At *conv*. 2.1. 2–6, Dante lists the four levels of interpretation: 1) literal; 2) allegorical, i.e. hidden meaning; 3) moral; and 4) anagogical, i.e. mystical and eschatological meanings.
59 On Augustine's *Confessions* Dante says: "By the progress of his life that advanced from bad to good, good to better, and better to best, he gave to us an example and instruction, which could not be provided by any other testimony so true as this" (*conv*. 1.2.14)
60 Hollander (1969: 555, note 45) admits the neglect of the Divine Comedy's "typological framework in which Dante beholds present history . . . that the Old Testament types extended past Christ's life on earth and the founding of the Church to present history." This is precisely the framework that Prudentius' poetry reflects.
61 I use the term *conversion* in a wide sense in which one rejects the world for the sake of one's spiritual and ethical life. Augustine had his famous conversion in the garden in Milan (*conf*. 8. 19–26); Prudentius alludes to his conversion in the *Preface* to his works, telling of a life of worldly accomplishment to be rejected; Prudentius' younger literary contemporary, Paulinus of Nola, undergoes a similar experience in the 380s that caused a sensation amongst his peers (see Ambrose *ep*. 27); and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* constructs his own conversion from a life of worldly concerns to one of divine ones.
62 See Fusca (2003–2015) on *inf*. 1.31–3, which surveys the scholarship on the allegorical meanings of these creatures. Envy's dwelling place (and the *Inferno*'s general setting) parallels the hell-scapes of Prudentius' soul battle and Milton's battle between the fallen and God's angels.
63 Fusca (2003–2015) on *inf*. 1.20 (*lago del cor*) cites *VN* 2.4 for the meaning "life force" or "spirit of life"; and Boccaccio, *exp*. 1.1.16, for the idea that it is the seat of the passions, especially fear.
64 Fusca (2003–2015) on *inf*. 1.101–105 gives details on how the Hound is associated with a political reformer and savior. That role recalls the figures of Aeneas

or Augustus in Roman times but perhaps Dante's friend and political figure, Can Grande della Scalla.

65 The translation is by Raffel (2010).

66 Hollander (1969: 49).

67 On Prudentius' use of *Aeneid* 6, see Mastrangelo (2008: 36).

68 Malamud (2011: xi).

69 Malamud (2011: 52).

70 Herzog (1966: 94).

71 Malamud (2011: 98–101). Nimrod is also the builder of the Tower of Babel, the archetypical story of humanity's inability to communicate with each other and the divine. (Augustine *civ*. 16.4).

72 See lines 280–83 [334–39] for the description of Luxury's chariot and also line 513 [605] for the martial language of myriads of arrayed virtues.

73 Mastrangelo (2008: 126–32).

74 For other passages that reflect the centrality of Salvation History in *Paradise Lost*, see *PL* 3.237–65 and 11.22–44, where Christ the Son tells God the Father of his salvific mission; and *PL* 3.445–97, 11.310–71, and 12.112–370, where biblical history is prelude to the new Christian age. For Prudentius, even though the theme of salvation is expressed in the *Aeneid* through the quest to found Rome, more apropos is the epic didactic tradition of Lucretius' *On the Nature of Things*, which speaks a proselytizing language of conversion from the fear of death to the doctrines of the master (savior) Epicurus. See Jenkyns (1997: 34).

75 See also *PL* 1.490–96 where Belial, Hebrew for "wickedness," or, in Milton's words, "a fleshy incubus" (*PR* 2.150–52), appears among a litany of evil characters from the Old Testament. She, for all intents and purposes, is a personification (cf. Prudentius' Belial at 607 [*psych*. 714]).

76 Also compare *PL* 1.615–21 and 620–24 [*psych*. 736–37] where Satan prepares to speak to his army and Harmony prepares to speak to her army.

77 For example, not until recently has the *Psychomachia*'s engagement with the *Aeneid* been appreciated at the level of a personal and collective journey, rather than merely a series of linguistic borrowings.

78 Clark (2017: 425): Augustine believed that "readers will go wrong if they give too much attention to the literary creation of created human beings" and "his task was to help people understand and live by the truths in scripture, and this required him to use language they understood, not language constrained by meters they could not hear."

79 Took (1990: 378) says this of Augustine's *Confessions*. Took performs a useful intertextual study of the *Confessions* and the *Divine Comedy* in order to show that the *Confessions* was "far from being a mere authority, [and] was part of what Dante was." (381) See Took's comparison of Dante's intellectual autobiographical essays, *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*, to Augustine that results in rich common motifs and ideas.

80 See Peltarri (2019: 29–31) for a summary of the manuscript tradition with other references.

81 See Bastiaensen (1993: 104–07) for a summary and references.

82 Like contemporary Christian Rock (i.e. "popular music with Christian lyrics," Cusic (2009: 77)), Prudentius' poetry, as he indicates in the *Preface* to his collected works, pulsates with a personal religious commitment and praise of the Christian God and doctrine. Christian Rock's adoption of secular, popular

music with the addition of Christian content is paralleled at a fundamental level in Prudentius' reuse of Latin pagan poetic tradition for expression and praise of Christian doctrines. Moreover, both Christian Rock and the *Psychomachia* appropriate a form of artistic expression, popular music, and profane poetic forms that the Christian establishment of the time had rejected as an enemy of truth, morality, and proper belief. Tucker (2015: 78) says: "If he were alive today, I suspect that Prudentius would be in a Christian rock band, blending Tertullian and Paul with Pink Floyd and Pearl Jam." What Prudentius did was the 5th-century equivalent, incorporating elements of martial Roman culture in a Christian psychological and spiritual drama.

83 The observations of this and the next paragraph are based on Lavarenne (1933: 106–20); Hardie (1998: 102–14); and Peltarri (2019).

84 The *Psychomachia* possesses different stylistic features from Vergil, for example, a penchant for enumerative lists and allusions, brief and involved, to biblical characters and scenes.

85 Hardie (1998: 102).

86 See notes to lines 46, 47, 48, 49, 646–50.

87 See introductory note to lines 755–79; also see notes to lines 5, 365–66, 372, and 768–69.

88 Hardie (1998: 102).

89 Lavarenne (1933: 20). Because of these alleged shortcomings, Lavarenne quips, "Let's not speak about the embarrassment of the translator and commentator [of Prudentius]."

90 For instance, for *ingluvie*, "gluttony-for-gain;" for *docta fastidia*, "new-fangled disdain;" and for *dextram parabside iungit,* "both of their hands mingled in the food platter;" 550. [532])

1

PRUDENTIUS, *PSYCHOMACHIA,* TRANSLATED BY MARC MASTRANGELO

Preface

Abram, a faithful old man, the first example of belief,
an elderly father of a blessed people, his name grew
when syllables were added. He was called Abram by his father,
but Abraham by God. As an old man, he held out his child
as a sacrifice, and taught us that when one wishes to make
a favorable offering, with faith in God one must willingly give up
what is sweet, sacred, and unique to one's heart.
He persuades us to fight infidel nations through his own
example. He convinces us that we will not produce offspring,
the children from Mother Virtue, and a marriage pleasing to God,
until our warring spirit slaughters the monsters of our servile heart.

By chance, overbearing kings had defeated and kidnapped Lot
when he lived in the scandalous cities of Sodom and Gomorra.
Though a foreigner, he was a lover of these cities and a prominent man
owing to his uncle's status and reputation. Stirred by the news
of the capture of his nephew, an unfortunate casualty of war, and
a servant to the harsh chains of the barbarians, Abraham arms 318
of his house-born slaves, circles to the rear of the enemy as they marched,
and slaughters them. The enemy was weighed down
by its copious spoils—rich treasure and a famous victory. In fact,
he himself draws his sword and, full of God, drives the arrogant kings
to flight. Burdened with their massive loot, he tramples their wounded,
breaks the chains of servitude, and liberates their plunder: gold,
girls, little children, necklaces, horses, equipment, clothes, cattle.
Lot's chains are broken and he is freed. Now liberated, he raises his neck,
scraped from the chafing. Abraham, the destroyer of the enemy victory,
returns and becomes famous for bringing back his nephew.

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All this to deny these worst kings' power over a household of
faithful people.

Fresh from the slaughter of so many men,
a priest gives the hero heavenly food. He is the priest of God,
also a king. His secret origin from an indescribable source proclaims no parent,
Melchisedec. His roots and ancestors are unknown, known only to God.
Soon, a triple-shaped trinity of angels visits the old man's hut,
and he welcomes them. Fertile Sara marvels at the pubescent workings
of her ancient womb (a mother with no life in her!). She rejoices
in an heir, yet she regrets her laughter. This narrative thread was preconceived
in her, a figure that our life reshapes in true measure. We must watch over
the weapons of our faithful hearts and every part of our body taken captive
and enslaved to filthy desire. We must be liberated by the forces
we gather at home. We will be super-rich in our own native capabilities
if we understand through the mystic figure what 318 can do.
Soon Christ himself, the true priest, born from an unutterable,
august Father, will offer food to blessed victors and will enter
the home of their pure hearts; and he will give them the reward of
welcoming the Trinity. Through its sacred and eternal embraces,
the divine spirit will cause the soul, long bereft of offspring,
to be married and fertile with the eternal seed. In turn, like the woman
who was too old for labor, it will have a dowry and will fill
the Father's house with a worthy heir.

Psychomachia

Christ, you have always pitied the harsh agonies of human kind!
You are known for your Father's strength, but yours is one power
(for we worship one god under each name; yet not just one name,
since, Christ, you are God from the Father).
Tell us, my king, how the militias of our armed minds can drive out the Sins
from the caverns of our souls. Tell us how often a mutiny arises within because
our feelings are confused and the struggles with this sickness exhaust our souls.
Tell us what fortress there is to defend the soul's freedom, or what battle-array
resists the Furies with robust force infused in our hearts. For, my good leader,
you did not expose the followers of Christ to the destructive Vices without the great
Virtues and their strength. You yourself order salvation-bringing squadrons to fight
inside a besieged body. You yourself arm our character with excellent skills,
through which it fights and wins for you, attacking the absurdities of the heart.

The way of victory is at hand if we can observe at close quarters
the features of virtues and monsters that engage them in deadly conflict. [20]

Faith first enters the field of battle, her prospects uncertain, 15
her clothes disheveled and rough, her shoulders and arms bare, her hair unkempt.
She has a sudden passion for glory, burning for new battles. Also,
she does not think to arm herself with weapons nor body armor, but
trusting in her mighty heart and exposed limbs, she invites the dangers
of insane war in order to break them. Look! Over there, Paganism marshals 20
her forces and dares to strike aggressive Faith first. But Faith, rising
higher, wallops the enemy's head, her temples decked out with ribbons, [30]
and she drives her mouth, nourished with the blood of beasts, into the ground,
and she treads on her eyes that had popped out as she died, and
the crushed windpipe in her broken throat closes off her meager breath 25
and heaving gasps for life prolong a hard death.

The victorious army, leaping for joy, recruited from a thousand martyrs,
Queen Faith had inspired against the enemy. Now she crowns her brave comrades
with flowers as befits their glory, and orders them to dress in flaming purple.

Next Chastity, virginal, and gleaming in her splendid armor, is ready 30 [40]
to fight. The Sodomite Lust, armed with torches of her fatherland, attacks her
and shoves a pitchy, sulfur-burning pine torch into her face, attempting to engulf
her chaste eyes in flames and foul smoke. But the virgin, unperturbed, strikes
the hand of the raging fury and the flaming weapon of the awful whore
with a rock. Chastity deflects the rejected torch away from her holy face. 35
Then, her sword, plunging in, pierces the throat of the disarmed prostitute.
Lust vomits up hot breath, clotted with filthy blood. After that, her corrupt [50]
discharged breath poisons the surrounding air.

"It's finished!" Shouted the victorious queen, "this will be your
final destination, flat on your back, forever! You will not dare spray your 40
deadly fire onto the servants of God, both men and women, whose
internal core, their chaste soul, burns only through Christ's torch.
O Torturer of Humanity, could you regain your strength, warming up
your life's breath, snuffed out since Holofernes' severed neck cleansed [60]
his Assyrian bedroom with libidinous blood, and a resolute Judith 45
rejected the bejeweled bed of this adulterous leader, her sword checking
his impure passion: a woman famous for coolly bringing back a trophy
from the enemy, audacious in my cause and heaven-sent. But perhaps,
until that moment, a woman fighting under the shadow of the law did not

have enough courage, even though she prefigures our times when
true power has flowed into earthly bodies and severs an illustrious head
through powerless agents."

"Do you have any claims after an immaculate virgin delivered a child? [70]
Ever since a virgin gave birth, the previous condition of birth disappeared
from the nature of the human body and a higher power created a new flesh,
and an unmarried woman conceived Christ God, a human being from
a mortal mother but a deity like the Father. From that day, right now,
all flesh is divine, flesh that conceives him and takes on the nature of
God, shared in a bond. The Word made flesh does not cease
to be what it had been, the Word, while it connects to the experience of
the flesh. Indeed, its majesty does not decline through the experience of
the flesh, but lifts wretched men to nobler pursuits. It stays as it
always was, though beginning to be what it was not."

"What we have been, now we are not. We have grown into a
better condition by being born. He gave himself to me and
he remained himself. God did not diminish his own condition
from contact with ours. Instead, as he gave his being to us,
he sent us up toward heavenly gifts."

"Dirty Lust, God's gift is that you lie vanquished.
From the time of Mary, you cannot destroy my law. You
the chief road to perdition and the gate of death. You corrupt [90]
our bodies and sink our souls into hell. Lower your head into
the bitter abyss, you icy pestilence! Die, whore! Go chase ghosts!
Be shut up in hell! Cast yourself into the dark night! Let flaming waters
roll you underneath! Let the black waves and sulfurous whirlpool
spin you through roaring rapids! And, Greatest of Furies, tempt
the followers of Christ no more! Purged bodies must be preserved
for their king!"

Chastity spoke, and delighting in the death of the butchered Lust,
she expertly washed her stained sword in the Jordan River.
Bloody gore and red dew clung to it. Lust's wound blemished [100]
its glittering iron. So, the clever victor purified the triumphant
sword in the holy water-way, cleansing the filth of her enemy's throat,
a baptism of sorts. She was no longer content to keep her weapon
in her scabbard. Rust might shroud its cleansed sheen in
mucky rot. So, she dedicated it at the altar of the divine spring

in a universal temple. Here the sword glitters and shines with
eternal light.

Look! gentle Patience stands at the center of the battle,
serious and unmoved by the chaotic tumult. She observes wounds [110]
and organs penetrated by stiff spears; her eyes fixed on the scene, 90
she remains calm. Far away Anger, swelling, hysterical,
frothing at the mouth, turns on her, her eyes bloodshot and gorged
with fury. With her voice and weapon, Anger provokes Patience
who is not fighting. Impatient from delay, she goes for her
with a spear, abusing her with trash-talk, the plumed crest 95
of her helmet shaking.

"Hey you!" Anger says, "you, the watcher who takes no part in our war,
Take this fatal blade into your calm breast! Try not to feel pain, 'cause [120]
moaning is embarrassing." She spoke, and a whistling spear follows
her words of abuse, shaking as it is thrown through the pliant air; and 100
well aimed, it lands below her stomach. Patience is hit with a precise shot,
but it ricochets, repelled by her sturdy breast-plate. She had wisely protected
her body with a triple-threaded, adamant-woven cuirass. Its scaly iron
surface was interlaced with leather. Right then, Patience was still, holding out
against a cloud of missiles, enduring them unharmed. Unmoved by 105
the spear of the wildly raging monster, she waits for Anger to expire [130]
from her own wrath. Of course, the barbarous warrioress' ravings
exhausted her formidable weapons. Her right hand had become fatigued
and useless because she launched so many spears that had fallen in vain,
fruitless flights. Her shattered weapons lay on the ground, emblems 110
of futility. Still her wicked hand grabs her sword, and straining,
it rises high and above her ear to deliver a blow. Poised,
she strikes Patience's head dead on. But her golden helmet, made from [140]
forged metal, resounds with a clang at the blow and blunts the force
of the blade. In fact, the defiant metal shatters the blade, dashing 115
it to pieces. Incapable of quitting, she absorbs this fruitless assault
and resists her attacker unharmed. When Anger sees the fragments
of her fractured sword, exploded into tiny pieces, though now she
holds the weightless hilt, she is out of her mind, and flings the unlucky
ivory hilt, a faithless emblem of both honor and shame. 120

So, she throws it far away, that bitter souvenir and [150]
frantically ignites her own demise. She grabs one of her many misfired
missiles from the dust of the battlefield for a perverse use. She fixes the

polished spear shaft in the ground and, with the point turned toward herself,
she stabs and punctures her lung, the wound warm. Standing over her,
Patience exclaims, "I am ecstatic that a traditional Virtue has beaten
this Vice with no risk of bloodshed or to life. Our law requires this kind
of war. By enduring we snuff out the Furies, every army of Vices,
and their fanatical power. Madness itself is its own enemy. And
through her own seething fury and weapons, fiery Anger murders herself."
She finished speaking and cut a path through the middle of her comrades.
Unharmed, she was accompanied by the distinguished Job. He was nearest
to her and had clung to his indomitable teacher during the battle.
Until now severe in his demeanor, he gasped at the number of deaths. Now
With an unhinged look, he laughs at his healed sores and he counts
his scars to calculate the thousands of struggles he endured,
simultaneously his prizes and his enemies' shame. Immortal
Patience finally orders Job to retire from the fog of war, to replace
his losses with war spoils, and to repossess what would not be lost
again. She forces her way through the mass of legions and adjacent
battle lines, stepping through showers of wound-bearing arrows
impervious. She is the associate and guardian of all virtues.
So, brave Patience mingles with her soldiers. No Virtue
enters an uncertain struggle without this very Virtue. For
whomever Patience does not support, she will be destitute.

By chance imperious Arrogance flitted about the routed
troops on her unbridled horse. Lion skin covered its back, and fur
weighed down its potent forequarters to make Arrogance's entrance
more pompous. She was perched up on the mane of her wild horse,
contemptuous of the battle lines she inspected. She had high, wavy
hair, styled firmly into a towering beehive. The elevation of her wavy
coiffure gave her severe forehead the look of a lofty peak. A bunched,
linen shawl, joined in a knot on her chest, covered her shoulders
and cleavage. From her neck, a scarf, made of soft material,
flowed and billowed in gusty winds. No less imperious was
the unpredictable savagery of her clattering horse, refusing
the bridle with its bloodied bit. It gnashes its teeth, backs
here and there, since it is denied the freedom of escape and
becomes enraged at the oppressive reigns.

The puffed-up virago displays herself like this
and towers above the battle lines. She turns about her
breast-plated horse. Her voice and appearance are threatening,

and she gazes at the enemy troops, who are few and poorly armed.
Lowliness had conscripted them for battle. She was indeed
a queen, but she was alone, not trusting enough in her army's 165 [200]
preparation. She had joined her comrade, Hope, whose power
sits high up, rising from the ground to lush heaven.

After insane Arrogance sees Lowliness equipped with
paltry, worthless weapons, she bursts into a flurry of bitter words:
"Isn't it a disgrace, wretches, for a common soldier to test 170
renowned leaders—to provoke with a sword a famous and
honored race, whose warlike virtues earned ancient wealth and [210]
the power to trample fertile hills of grain?! Now should it be right
for a penniless foreigner to expel ancient kings?! Look at them!
The ones who wish grab our power and take our wealth! These 175
foreigners who want to plough fields we made fallow, plunder
pastures we captured, and cast out through war our hard-bitten
shepherds!"

"You! You Ridiculous Mob of Virtues! We certainly embrace
the entire person at the moment of birth and his warm limbs fresh 180
from the womb; and we spread the brunt of our power throughout
a newborn's limbs. We are the masters of their tender bones. What place
was given to you in our corporeal home when our kingdoms simultaneously [220]
grew with equal power? For both the house and its masters were born
on the same day, and we grew up in the same years, ever since 185
a new creature, stepped out of the enclosed boundary of Paradise
and fled into the wide world, and the august Adam put on animal
skins for clothes. He would have been naked, had he not followed
our rules."

"What is this enemy that rises from an unknown place, 190
irritating, ineffective, miserable, degenerate, foolish; an enemy who
demands her rights so late and is up to this moment an exile? [230]
Of course, the trifles of empty talk are believed and compel
the pathetic to hope for prosperity at some point,
so that shiftless comforts flatter their feeble idleness with 195
a foggy expectation of reality. What if their futile hope
does not flatter them, these raw recruits whom Bellona does not inspire
with her bestial trumpet; and their lukewarm courage unnerves their
unwarlike spirits? Does frigid Chastity have the heart for war? Or
is the delicate work of Piety achieved in battle?" 200

"How shameful it is, Mars and my accomplice, Courage, [240]
for my sword to confront such a battle line and incite such trash!
How shameful to set my right hand against these virginal dance
troupes! Right where needy Justice is, and poor Honesty, parched
Sobriety, fasting Hunger with her ashen face, Purity barely hued 205
with a tint of blood, Simplicity naked and exposed to every possible
wound, and Lowliness, lying on the ground unfree—though
her own judge; her anxiety betrays her as a degenerate! I shall
make it that this impotent band is trampled underfoot like straw;
for we don't approve of destroying them with our sharp swords, and 210 [250]
drenching our weapons in their cold blood, and corrupting our heroes
with an ephemeral triumph over the weak."

Saying such things, she spurs on her speedy steed and
with slackened reins she runs out of control. She wants to level
her enemy, the impact of her horse-hide shield felling them, 215
and then trample their expired remains. Instead, Arrogance falls
headlong into a pit, which shrewd Deceit had secretly dug on the plain.
Deceit, one among the hated plague of Vices, the cunning artificer [260]
of treachery, prescient, she had disfigured the plain of battle with
insidious holes on the enemy side. This trench was to catch onrushing 220
troops and swallow up whole columns. A cautious army could not detect
the pit, its open edges covered with twigs. Deceit had placed turf over the pit
and had simulated level ground. But the humble queen, Lowliness,
waited on the side, far away, nor had she come to that spot, that hidden
area of Deceit, nor had she passed through that unseen place, 225
the dangerous pit. That rider fell into this trap while being carried [270]
on her rapid course. Suddenly she revealed the obscure breach.
Thrown forward, she wraps herself around the bolting horse's neck.
Under the weight of the horse's chest, she is whirled among
The horse's broken legs. The Virtue, in calm control, views the trampled 230
vanity of the monster at death's door, gently directing her step,
barely lifting her face, and restraining her joy with a kind expression.

Her loyal comrade, Hope, runs to help her as she hesitates; she offers
her an avenging sword and infuses her with a desire for glory.
Lowliness drags her enemy by the hair, covered in blood, and tilts 235 [280]
her face back. She slices her arched neck, tears her head off,
and holds it up by its blood-drenched hair. Hope rebukes the dead
Vice with her sacred tongue:

"Stop your babbling. God breaks arrogance, greatness falls,
the overblown crack, and the proud are overwhelmed. Learn to renounce
your pride and to avoid the chasm at your feet, whoever makes high
and mighty threats! The popular maxim of our Christ prevails:
the lowly ascend to the heights and the headstrong return to the bottom.
We know that Goliath, horrific in mind and body, fell by a frail
hand. The boyish right hand hurled a small rock at him with the whoosh
of a sling. It pierced his forehead and left a deep wound. Though he was
menacing, fierce, trash-talking, cruel, and bitter; though he surged
invincibly, raged terribly, made a spectacle of himself, and
his shield terrified the winds, Goliath experienced what the playthings
of a small boy can do. The confused warrior succumbed to a delicate
youth. At that moment, that boy followed me as he matured
with courage and he reached for the blossoming souls up in my
kingdom. My home at the feet of an omnipotent God is safe; and
the victors join me as I call them to the heights when the blemish
of their sins has been cut away."

She spoke. And brushing the air with her gilded wings,
the virgin took herself to heaven. The Virtues were amazed at her exit
and raised their spirits in prayer. These warriors would like to accompany
her, if earthly warfare were not hindering. They fight Vices and preserve
themselves for their own reward.

The enemy Luxury came from the edge of the western world.
For some time she had dissipated her now defunct glory. Her hair was full
of oil, and she had roving eyes and slurred speech. She had lost her
sex appeal, having only lived for pleasure: to be soft, to cling to sensual
temptation, and to undo an already broken mind. On this occasion too,
withered, she belched the late-night meal. By chance, just before dawn, as
she reclined by the food trays, she heard the growling trumpets
and right there left her tepid drink, her feet sloshing through wine
and perfume. Drunk she goes to war, squashing flowers on her way.
She travels in a grand chariot, certainly not on foot, capturing
the damaged hearts of heroes dumbstruck with desire.

What a strange vision of combat! No bow launches a swift arrow;
no hissing spear springs forth from its twisted strap; nobody brandishes
a sword. But lewd Luxury shoots violets and jousts with rose-petals.
Throughout enemy territory she scatters flower baskets. Then her seductive
breath conveys a subtle poison within their enfeebled bones. A terribly

sweet fragrance tames their lips, spirit, and weapons. It softens their
iron-clad muscles, squelching their strength. Like a trounced army
they jettison their courage and disgracefully lay down their spears.
Oh my! In a stupor and with spent hands, they ogle at Luxury's
chariot, gleaming with the shimmering light of fine gems. They
are in awe of the crackling reins of gold leaf, the solid gold axel,
and the shining silver spokes enclosed by a rim of tawny electrum.

The whole army freely and mutinously comes to the desire
for surrender. They turn the army flags backward, wanting
to become slaves to Luxury and suffer at the hands of a debauched
tyrant, ruled by the depraved law of the sleazy dive-bar. The bravest
Virtue, Moderation, groaned at the dismal crime of her comrades
on the right flank deserting—a once indomitable fighting force had
been undone without bloodshed. The able leader plants and fixes
in the ground the lofty flag of the cross she had carried at the front of
the battle-line. She employs biting words to restore the tottering wing
of the army, praising and goading them, and praying for their spirits.

"What madness afflicts your silly minds with confusion?
Where are you running? To whom are you offering your neck?
And, shameful ones, what chains do you wish to wear on your limbs:
garlands of brilliant lilies? Wreathes bursting with rust-red flowers?
Do you long to surrender your warlike hands to these bonds, tying
your hands trained for war in knots, a golden bandana with its
saffron-colored band, binding your flowing hair and soaking up perfume?!
And this, after symbols have been written on your forehead in oil?
Symbols that bestow upon you a royal and eternal anointing?
Does your effeminate gait cause your gowns to rub out your foot prints?
Do your silk shirts make your flimsy limbs undulate? And this,
after nourishing Faith wove an immortal vest with her learned thumb,
furnishing an impenetrable breast-plate for your baptized hearts,
hearts which she herself had given to be born again?! From this
to late night feasts, where huge mugs spill the frothing waste
of abundant Falernian wine onto tables that are covered with the drippings
of ladles; where couches are wine-drenched, and their chiseled
engravings are wet with old dew. Have you forgotten your ancestors'
thirst in the desert and the rock-sourced spring?! The gushing spring,
unleashed by a magical wand from the top of a split boulder?!
Didn't the food of angels in those early days flow into the tents
of your ancestors—food that comes from the body of Christ

and now a more blessed people eat in the evening of a belated
age? As it stands, the gluttony of filthy Luxury, that cruel whore,
infects you through these banquets and carries you away to drunkenness.
Raging Anger and idols did not force our soldiers to surrender in war,
but a drunk dancing girl changed you! Stand up, I beg you! Be mindful [380]
of yourself and Christ! Recall your tribe and who God and your king is,
and who the Lord is! You are of the highborn line of Judah,
and come from a long royal bloodline right up to the mother
of God, through whom God became human. May the most celebrated
fame of David, experienced in the nonstop sorrows of war,
spark your excellent minds. Also, Samuel, who bans touching
the spoils of a rich enemy, nor does he spare the uncircumcised [390]
king after he is conquered, ensuring that this remaining plunder
not produce a once spared victor for a new war. He thought it a crime
to release the already bound tyrant."

"But you want to be conquered and surrender.
Repent! If any reverence for the greatest deity moves you.
Repent your desire to follow so sweet a sin in an abominable
betrayal! If you repent, your sin does no harm. Jonathan
repented because he desecrated the sober fast. Malicious,
he enjoyed the taste of honey with his scepter, when the alluring
desire for power delighted this youth and dissolved his sacred [400]
oaths. But he repented, and so his fate was not woeful nor
did the cruel sentence stain his father's axes. You see, I,
Moderation, will show the Virtues the way—if you
would only join with me! Though a zealous bodyguard
surrounds seductive Luxury, the judgment of Christ will force
her and her army to pay the penalty."

She spoke and holds out the Lord's cross before a team
of wild horses, pointing the sacred wood toward their bridles.
Its bejeweled head and outstretched arms frighten the reckless [410]
vices, and they burst into a breakneck flight, scattering in a blind
panic. The driver, Luxury, leaning back and yanking the reigns,
loses control, is thrown, and soils her greasy hair with dust.
The revolutions of the wheels entangle the Vices' former commander.
The chariot slows because Luxury acts as a mangled brake. Moderation adds
the death blow as she lies on the ground. She lobs a huge rock broken off
from a boulder. While luck suggests this act of violence to the standard-
bearer, who holds no spear yet brandishes a banner of war, [420]

Misfortune steers the rock. It breaks the breath passage in the middle of
Luxury's face. Her lips collapse into her hollow palate. Dislodged teeth
and a shredded tongue gorge her mutilated throat with bloody
bits. She gags from the bizarre meal, gulping down mushy bones,
and repeatedly puking swallowed morsels.

Rebuking her, the virgin says, "Now after your many swigs,
drink up your own blood! This is your final, pathetic meal, the price
of too many treats in the past. A taste of a bitter life sours carnal [430]
temptations and a taste of death provides a harsh finish to a terrible drink."

In a frenzy of fear the insipid army disperses and runs
at the sight of their slaughtered leader. Humor and Insolence
are the first to throw away their cymbals. With these "weapons"
they played at war, intending to do damage with a noisy rattle!
The fugitive Desire turns tail. He is pale with fear and abandons
his poison arrows, his bow which falls from his shoulders, and
his quiver. Pomp, the exhibitionist of empty splendor, is stripped
nude of her pretentious robe. Glamor's ripped gown drags behind [440]
and her gold necklace and crown fall apart. Shrill Discord
scatters her jewels. Pleasure is displeased, injuring her feet as she
walks through thorn bushes because a greater power compels
her to endure a bitter escape. Her fear of danger hardens the soles
of her feet for the tortuous journey. By whatever path the army
flees in frenzied flight, its equipment lays abandoned: a hairpin,
ribbons, streamers, a brooch, a bridal veil, a breast band, a royal
headdress, a necklace. Moderation and her whole army ignore [450]
these spoils and trample the accursed enticements under their
pure feet. With her gaze averted, she turns away her sanctified,
austere eyes from the delightful spoils.

It is said that Greed, wearing a dress with a large fold
in front, snatched with her crooked hands any precious thing
Excess left behind. Her wide mouth was agape at the pretty play
things, plucking bits of fallen gold out of piles of sand. Nor was
she satisfied to fill her ample girdle. She was happy to stuff her
ill-gotten gains into heavy money-bags filled with the stolen [460]
haul and concealed with her left hand under the left side of her
dress. Her swift right hand and hard fingernails scrape up
the loot. Worry, Hunger, Dread, Anxiety, Mendacity, Fear
Corruption, Fraud, Falsehood, Restlessness, Squalor, the Furies,

and a crew of assorted monsters follow her. Crimes, like rabid wolves,
nourished from the black milk of their mother, Greed, prowl
and leap about the battlefield. If a soldier sees the helmet of 395 [470]
his brother-in-arms beaming with reddish yellow gems, he does not fear
to draw his sword and strike his head with his comrade's sword.
He will take the precious stones from his brother's head. If
by chance a son sees his father's body, a casualty of war, he
is happy to steal his shiny belt and bloodied plunder. Civil war 400
plunders the spoils of comrade and kin. Nor does insatiable
Materialism spare his own children. Godless Hunger robs her
own sons and daughters. Such ruin, Greed, the master of the world, [480]
produces in every nation and routs hundreds of thousands through
a surfeit of wounds. As for the one whose eyesight is gone 405
and eyes gouged out, a blind man in the dark of night, she makes
him wander and push on through many obstacles. He does not
assay the traps that Greed lays. With a look she seizes another
and tricks him as he makes eye contact, showing him something
remarkable. He lunges for it and is caught unawares by her weapon. 410
Wounded, he groans at the sword driven deep into his heart.
Many she impels headfirst onto open fires. She forbids them to [490]
avoid the furnaces where gold burns. And though about to burn
himself, a greedy speculator goes for the gold.
Greed captures the whole of mankind. She attacks all mortal 415
matters with death. There is no more violent Vice on earth that
overwhelms the life of the people with such destructive force. And
she condemns them to hell.

Can you believe she dares to assault
the Lord's priests themselves! These leaders were waging
war in the front lines for the glory of the Virtues, blowing 420
their trumpets with all their might. Greed would have stained [500]
her sword with innocent blood, had not warlike Reason,
the only loyal ally of the priestly clan, thrown her shield
in the way and protected her famous pupils from the assault
of a deadly enemy. Reason's power saved everyone. Their 425
spirits remained brave and unharmed as they stood apart from
all of the chaos. Greed's arrow-head lightly wounded a few of the Virtues,
hardly grazing the surface of their skin. The merciless plague
is stunned that her weapons bounced off far away from the
heroes' necks. 430

She moans, and raging she begins furiously: "We've lost!
Argh! Our power is impotent and isn't packing its usual punch!
Our savage passion for violence is dwindling. With invincible force
it used to crush the hearts of people everywhere. For such an iron nature
does not form a person that she would stubbornly reject the security
of money or be impervious to my gold coin. All temperaments—
delicate, rough, hard, learned, unlearned, stupid, wise, pure, and impure
are open to my influence and go to their deaths. I alone have supplied
whatever the river Styx relegates to its rapacious whirlpools.
Richest Tartarus owes me the nations it keeps. Whatever
the generations conceive is mine! Whatever the world confounds—
its mad problems—is mine! How can it happen that legendary
power deserts so strong a force! How can it be that fortune
mocks our useless limbs! The golden form of a brilliant coin
disgusts the Christ-followers, so too reliefs embossed in silver,
and the magnificence of every treasure-chest is clouded and worthless
in their eyes. What does this new-fangled disdain mean?
Didn't I defeat Iscariot, a great disciple and dinner-guest of God?
He was a fraud to the promise of the table, but not to Him
who knew. While both of their hands mingled in the food platter,
he fell upon my dagger because of burning desire, buying his
infamous farm with the blood of his friend. He was destined
to pay for that land with his strangled neck.

"During its destruction, Jericho had experienced the greatness
of my power, when Achar, in his moment of victory, fell. After
the singular massacre and collapse of the walls, he succumbed to
gold taken from the defeated enemy, plucking a remarkable
offering out of the forbidden ashes and ravenously gobbling up
the gloomy spoils of a city's ruin. His noble tribe did not save him.
Judah, the parent of his ancestors, did not save him—noble Judah,
the kinsman of Christ, a blessed patriarch because of such a
descendent. Let those who delight in his clan's example delight
in the figure of his death! Let there be the very same comeuppance
for the members of this clan! Since I am inferior in military battle,
why don't I trick the compatriots of Judah or the fellow tribesmen
of the high priest, Aaron? It makes no difference whether
the victory comes through arms or tricks."

She spoke. Her fierce expression and ferocious weapons
disappear and she takes on a virtuous facade. Her appearance, both

in her severe looks and dress, becomes the Virtue they call Thrift.
She adores living frugally and preserving her possessions, as if
she took nothing due to greed. She deserves praise for her
ability to pretend that she is diligent. In the guise of that Virtue,
the deceiver**,** a Bellona, outfits herself. She wishes to be thought of
not as a plague of greed but as a frugal Virtue. Thus she covers
her snaky hair in a sheen of tender piety so that her bright robe
conceals a veiled madness, a terrible insanity. She calls stealing "taking,"
and "plundering" care for her children. She mocks and deceives the
trusting hearts of people with such tricks. And they follow the deadly
monster since they believe hers is the work of a Virtue. This
impious Fury captures easy victims by their own consent and she
binds them with firm chains. The army of Virtues wavers,
their leaders in a stupor, their squadrons in disarray, because of
the double-shaped monster. They did not know who is friend
or enemy. The altering, double destroyer, a blurry vision,
undermines their eyesight, and then suddenly Good Works,
gnashing her teeth, leaps into the middle of the combat
to help her comrades. Though stationed furthest back,
she takes up the fight and alone applies herself to the battle
to prevent a wrong result. She had flung off every burden from
her shoulders, stripped off her clothes, and lightened her load.
Some time ago, she was weighed down with heavy riches and
wealth. But now she is free and pities the poor, whom she
generously and kindly loves, handing out her ancestral wealth
with prudent excess. Now, enriched by faith, Good Works
notices her empty wallet and counts up her immortal sum plus
accumulated interest. Terrified at the threat of the indomitable
Virtue and grasping the certainty of her downfall, the bewildered
Greed goes out of her mind. What kind of treachery remains for
the trampler of the world who collapses from a drubbing by
temptations and again becomes entangled in the gold she once
despised? The bravest virtue jumps her and begins a chokehold.
She strangles her, breaking her bloodless and desiccated throat.
Under her chin, the clenched fetters of Good Works' arms
twist the life from Greed's writhing, but unharmed windpipe.
Since her breath passage is cut off in a prison inside of her,
she suffers death. With her knee and foot, Good Works presses
on her as she writhes. Then she stabs her, opening up her breathless rib cage.
Then the victor strips the corpse of its valuables. The dirty bits
of unrefined gold, unpurified metal, maggot-eaten pouches,

and rusted coins—these hoarded things, she disperses among the poor
and destitute as gifts from the battle. Then, elated, she surveys
the surrounding army and fiercely exclaims to the thousands:

"Take off your equipment, just ones, and put down your arms!
The cause of such a great evil has been killed. It is fine for the pure
to rest when gluttony-for-gain has perished. The best relaxation desires
nothing beyond that which necessary (and moderate) need demands, like
simple nourishment and one garment to protect and rejuvenate [610]
our frail limbs. It does not exceed the sated limits of nature. On
your journey, don't take a wallet or don't be worried about
another tunic to wear, nor trouble yourself with tomorrow unless
already your stomach lacks food. Your daily bread will return with
the sun. Don't you see that no bird thinks about tomorrow but
calmly believes that since God provides, it will eat? Birds trust
that they will not lack food. Sparrows worth a penny have [620]
indubitable faith in the mighty Lord's care that ensures
their survival. You who are the concern of God and the image
of Christ, do you fret that your creator will abandon you?
Don't be afraid, people. The giver of food is also the giver of life.
Go find the radiant food, Christian doctrine from heaven.
It feeds the hope of an incorruptible life, one oblivious to the flesh.
The creator remembers to supply the body with food
and to love its needy limbs."

After Good Works said this, Human Cares were
driven away: Fear, Suffering, Violence, Crime, and Fraud, the denier [630]
of sanctioned faith, were expelled and exiled. Then, kind Peace,
with her enemies trounced, eradicated war. Every cause of fear departed
and war-belts were removed. Her dress fell, flowing down to her feet.
Personal discretion tempered her brisk gait. The hollow bronze
of the horn players was quiet. The dust of the battlefield was settled
and the dazzling expression of a cloudless day returned. You could
see the brilliant light of heaven. Joyful at the end of battle, soldiers
discerned the face of the Thunderer above, smiling at the virginal [640]
troops. They saw Christ rejoicing at his victors from the citadel of
heaven and welcoming his servants to his Father's deepest abode.

Blessed Harmony gives the signal to return battle flags
to the appropriate camps and gather back at the tents. Never has
an army appeared so magnificent and glorious, as she leads them

over a long stretch, according to rank, the infantry singing psalms,
and on the other side, the cavalry belting out hymns: Just like
victorious Israel sang when it looked back at the gaping fury [650]
of the overhanging sea; advancing with dry feet, they treaded
on the shore ahead. The hissing mountain of water rushed
to the back of their heels but overtook the dark-skinned Egyptians
at the deepest point; and as the gulf flowed back, a place
returned for the fish to swim, instantly shrouding the once
exposed sand. God's army beat rhythmic drums as the lyre
resounded, and they celebrated for future generations
the wondrous and memorable work of the Almighty. [660]
The banks of water rose and cut through the waves. As
the storm persisted, masses of water were held at the ready.
So the mystical songs of the Virtues echoed in soothing psalms
when the race of vices was overcome.

They came to the entry-gate of the camp where a barrier
with hinged doors gave cramped access to a threshold. Here
a storm comes, unexpected, from the guile of a grim vice,
the jealous disturber of tranquil peace; it comes to vex so great
a triumph with sudden catastrophe. Among the crowded [670]
squadrons, and surrounded by troops, Harmony sets foot within
the secure battlements. But right then a Vice thrusts a concealed
sword into her left side. Although her firm chain-mail, surrounding her
body with the safety of woven steel, spit back the sharp point—
stitched chain-links forestalling a wound, and although firm
bonded fibers forbid the thrusting weapon to penetrate the flesh,
still, where a scale at the edge of the polished cuirass was connected,
that is, where the breastplate joins with the edge-piece, there
an exposed joint permitted the steel to go through for a minor puncture. [680]

The crafty fighter of the defeated side wounded Harmony
and ambushed the careless victors. For when the army of Sins
were routed, Heresy entered among our squadrons disguised as
a comrade. Her torn robe and a whip made from numerous snakes
lay among the carnage of the battlefield. Showing off her hair,
wreathed with leafy olive branches, she happily acknowledged
the festive dancers. But she hid a dagger under her tunic making
a bee line for you, Harmony, the greatest Virtue, you alone
out of them all! But the dagger cannot pierce your vital organs, [690]
it grazed the outermost layer of skin, marked by a slight trickle
of blood.

The confused Virtue immediately exclaims: "What's this?
What sneaky, hostile hand brandishes a sword to harm
our prosperity in the midst of such great joy? What's
the point of stopping the unbeatable Furies in war and restoring
all that is holy, if a Virtue is slain in peace-time?"

The anxious army turned their sad eyes to her. Blood
from the wound was dripping from her iron-covered garment. Soon [700]
fear betrays the enemy as she stands close by. The guilty pallor
on the face of this defendant confirms her reckless act. Her white
complexion and quivering, limp hand convicts her. The whole
legion of Virtues surrounds her in a swarming uproar. With swords
drawn they interrogate her about her race, name, homeland,
and religion. They also ask what god she worships and by whose order
did she come. Pale as a sheet and terrified, she says:

"I am called Discord. Heresy is my last name. My God is [710]
changeable, at one moment less, at another more, sometimes double,
sometimes singular. Whenever I prefer, he is air and a ghost. Or
whenever I wish to ridicule God, he is an inborn soul. Belial is my
teacher and the world is my country and home."

Faith, queen of the Virtues, no longer tolerated the blasphemies
of the captured monster. She stopped the speaker's words, stabbing
the passage-way of her voice and piercing her corrupt tongue
with a spear. Countless hands tear the savage monster to pieces.
Each one grabs a piece for herself to scatter to the winds, [720]
to give to the dogs, to offer to ravens, to shove into impure sewers
steaming with filth, or to entrust to sea creatures. The whole corpse
is ripped apart and doled out to unclean animals. Horrible Heresy
perishes, her limbs torn to shreds.

So, when the favorable blessings of wellbeing belong to
the community, the people are completely at peace with their emotions
and are in a secure place within the walls. A platform is placed on a [730]
hill at the center of the camp, and a watchtower rises from where an
unrestricted view surveys the open air. Pure Faith and Harmony, sisters
sworn to a sacred pact in the love of Christ, ascend the hill. Soon
the pair stand on the platform, holy and beloved, each one's claim
to authority equal to the other. They stand together, visible, and they
bid their congregation to assemble. Everyone quickly rushes from [740]
all over the camp; no part of the soul lies idle, cut off from any

corner of the body, nor conceals itself because of a degenerate
sluggishness. All tents are accessible, tent-flaps untied.
The canvas is unsealed to prevent the snoring inhabitants
from lazing in the dark. The assembly waits with eager ears
to hear why their leader, Harmony, summoned the victors
after the battle and what additional covenant Faith would offer
to the Virtues. First, Harmony's voice bursts forth in the following
exhortation:

"Most loyal children of the Father and Lord Christ, [750]
bountiful glory has now come to you. In a great war, savage barbarism
has been annihilated! It besieged the natives of a sacred city and, with
sword and fire, was oppressing men. Peace in the public square
depends on good will in the fields and the forum. Domestic division
disturbs the state; and what is divided within founders without.
So, men, beware that no dissonant purpose exist within your
emotions, that no foreign cult arise to stir up a repressed hate,
since a divided will confuses a schizophrenic heart. Let love [760]
unite what we know. Let our way of life harmonize in one purpose.
What is strong cannot be broken. And just as Jesus comes between
human and God—in the middle—joining mortal with the Father
so that the flesh not separate from the eternal spirit and both are one God,
in the same way, so let one spirit motivate whatever action we perform
from an organic connection of body and mind."

"Peace is the perfect work of Virtue, the end of suffering,
the reward for a war ended and danger confronted. The stars [770]
live and earthly stuff endures because of Peace. There is nothing
pleasing to God without Peace. When you want to offer a gift at
an altar, God disapproves if your mind is disturbed and hates your
brother down to the depths of your troubled heart. And if you,
a martyr in Christ's name, leap into blazing fires when you possess
a hateful desire from anger gone awry, you will not gain from
giving your precious life for Jesus, since the goal of the worthy
is peace. Peace does not swell with pride. She is not jealous
of her brother. Peace is patient, enduring all to the very end,
trusting in all. If injured, she never feels pain; she forgives [780]
every offense. Forgiveness longs to anticipate the fading of
daylight, anxious that the knowing sun not leave behind a lasting anger.
Whoever wishes to sacrifice whole burnt offerings to God,
let him provide peace first—no sacrifice is sweeter to Christ, who,

turning his face toward the holy altar, delights in this gift alone
and its pure aroma."

"But even God grants snow-white doves the ability to discern
a winged snake in a thin cloak of feathers, its mind cleverly
marking out the snake, though immersed in a crowd of
harmless birds. Also, with his bloody mouth, the wolf
hides, disguised as a milk-white sheep in delicate fleece.
He inflicts bloody murder with his lamb-like jaws.
With such ingenuity like ferocious wolves, Photinus and Arrius
conceal themselves. These crimes and my recent injury—though
a flesh wound—show what a treacherous hand can do."

Stunned by the bitter misfortune, the Virtues gave
a collective groan. Then excellent Faith added these words:
"Stop your crying in this hopeful time. Harmony is injured
but faith has been upheld. Harmony is safe. Escorted by her sister
Faith, she laughs at her wounds. She is my only salvation.
Nothing is sad when you welcome her. After the war, my chiefs,
one task remains, an honorable labor. Solomon began it, this
peace-making heir to a warmongering monarchy and the unarmed
successor to an armed court, since the right hand of his breathless
father, David, steamed with the warm blood of kings. For after the blood
is cleansed, a temple is erected and an altar, the august home of Christ,
is installed under a golden roof. Next, holy Jerusalem, famous
for its temple, received God in repose after the nomadic Ark of the
Covenant was established and sat on the marble altar. So
let a holy temple rise in our camp, whose holy of holies
the Almighty might visit. For what good is it to expel the earthborn
phalanx of the Sins with our swords, if the Son of Man, descending
from the citadel of heaven, enters the city of the cleansed body
without a splendid temple? Up to this moment you all sweated
in hand to hand combat. But now let the white toga of silent
peace do its duty, and let our youth remove their armor and
rush to build a home for sacred ceremonies."

When she said these words, the queen leapt down from
the magnificent steps, and Harmony, a partner in this great work,
was about to measure out and lay the foundation of the new temple.
Her golden measuring rod runs over the plain, calibrating distances,
to make a square. No flawed and unequal angle distorts

the precision of the square. On the east side, a clear zone is visible,
illuminated by three gates; A threefold gate lies open [830]
to the south; a triple entrance provides three gates to the west;
and the same for the lofty temple's opening to the north.
There, no stones are used in the construction, but a hollowed
out gem, a block pierced and hewed right through outlines
a threshold and a gleaming arch. One stone comprises
the entrance hall. On the doorposts, at the top of the gates,
the twelve names of the apostolic senate shine, inscribed
in gold. The divine spirit encircles the arcane, hidden places [840]
of the soul and summons particular feelings to the heart.
At whatever stage of a person's life—there are four stages
of life in a mortal body, the divine spirit enters the altar of
a person's nature by three paths and protects this shrine
through purified desires. Whether the just-risen sun is guiding
boys, or the noon heat burns within adolescents, or the best
light of the day achieves a man in full, or the cooling time
of the north wind impels decrepit old age to religion,
three names appear on the four sides of the temple, names
the king has placed in honor of his twelve disciples. [850]

What is more, just as many remarkable gems woven
into the walls sparkle brilliantly, and their light, deep within,
out of a transparent depth, emits the living souls of colors.
A huge topaz, speckled in natural gold, is between sapphire
and beryl stones. The luster of these beauties shimmers.
A dim agate is flooded with the neighboring light of a jacinth.
By chance, nearby, a stone containing dark blue pools of color
was glittering in pure purple. Amethyst amplifies onyx, and jasper [860]
and gorgeous topaz do the same to the adjoining carnelian.
Amid these splendors, emerald meadows glow green like
spring grass, and their lush light rolls along in rambling waves.
You too, fiery chrysoprase, possess an eminent place and your star
boosts starry stones.

The crane was creaking from its heavy chains, as it carries huge
gem-stones to the temple's rooftops. Meanwhile seven columns support
the inner sanctuary of the temple. They are cut from icy, transparent
rock-crystal and formed into white cones. They cover the top of [870]
the columns and have the curved shape of an oyster shell below.

Courageous Faith herself bought at auction an enormous pearl
for a thousand talents and prepared it. Sitting on this throne
in her lofty hall, mighty Wisdom makes every decision for her kingdom
and considers in her heart laws to protect humanity. In her hands, she holds
a scepter, not skillfully polished by a craftsman, but made from
verdant wood. It is alive, though separated from its roots and bereft of
moisture from the earth's soil. Yet from its undamaged leaves, it (880)
grows strong. Also, incandescent lilies intertwine and mingle with
blood-stained roses whose stems never wither. This is the figure of
Aaron's flower-bearing scepter, which pushed out buds from its
dry bark and unfurled a delicate grace, growing in hope.
And the barren twig suddenly bulged with new fruit.

We give eternal thanks to you, Christ, kindest teacher. And
with our pious mouths, we dedicate to you deserved honors—
because our heart is dirty with filth. You want us to recognize [890]
the lurking dangers of our fleshy exterior and the errors of our
struggling souls. We know that our conflicted feelings labor through
the continuous battles in our dark hearts—with the outcome
in the balance. At one moment, our understanding grows
through a good nature, at another moment, the Virtues buckle and
are dragged away in a worse yoke of life and condemn themselves
to hurtful sins, suffering the loss of their salvation.

How often have we felt our soul glow warm with the presence
of God when the plague of Vices is repelled! How often after [900]
our shining joys does our warm, heavenly nature yield to
foul desires! Horrid wars burn, they burn, shut up in our bones,
and human nature is not simple**,** raging with mutinous weapons.
For the flesh, formed from mud, oppresses the soul. But
that soul, produced from a tranquil breath, heats up in the prison
of our black heart, and rejects the smut as it wallows in its chains.
Within our changing soul light and dark do battle, and a double
substance animates opposing forces, until Christ God is at hand (910)
for our protection and arranges all the gems of Virtues in a pure
setting. And where sin has held sway, he builds the golden halls
of the temple and constructs virtues for the soul as a proof
of character, virtues in which wealthy Wisdom takes pleasure
and rules on her amazing throne forever.

2

NOTES TO PRUDENTIUS' *PSYCHOMACHIA*

The preface to the *Psychomachia*

It is not unusual for Latin poems from the Classical period onward to have Greek titles; for example, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Claudian's *Gigantomachy* (on Claudian and P's Prefaces see Dorfbauer 2010). The word *psychomachia* is ambiguous and can mean "battle in/of/for the soul." Prudentius (P. hereafter) extends the ambiguity into the poem through his all-encompassing allegorical construction. The battle between the virtues and vices is simultaneously taking place within an individual soul, in human history, in the Church, and on epic battlefields. The *Preface* allegorizes events from the life of Abraham in order to exhibit the struggle of a soul to achieve the status of a virtuous Christian. The metaphors of victory in combat and the resultant freedom from slavery dominate the first 28 lines of the *Preface*. In the first section of the *Preface* (1–14), P. establishes a didactic pose (the poet as teacher), which sets the stage for references to Abraham's life and actions, which convey moral and allegorical meaning. The stories of Abraham, Lot, and Sara, taken from *Gen*. 14–18, foreshadow the victory of virtue over vice to come in the main poem. Moreover, this victory can only be achieved within a person's soul through faith, a commitment to Nicean Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the sacraments, and Salvation History. Following on from this scenario, P. invites the reader to compare the stories of Melchisedech and Christ, describing their mysterious origins and priestly/kingly status. The purpose is to portray the New Testament as the fulfillment of the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Hebrew Bible), subordinating the Hebrew covenant to the new Christian dispensation. The pairings of Abraham/faith and Melchisedech/Christ extend to the individual soul of the reader as he or she struggles to develop the faith in order to accept Christ and the doctrines of the Church.

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The third section of the *Preface* (Lines 50–68) was influenced by Ambrose's work *On Abraham* (1.3.14). P. associates these stories with deep and broad Christian meanings. Thus, the battles, struggles, and stories of these Old Testament characters (*figura*, *psych*. 50, 58) prefigure the story of the New Testament Jesus Christ, the religious battles of the Roman Empire (Rohmann 2003: 242, 248), and the interior struggles of a contemporary reader (Mastrangelo 2008: 30). The reader is to understand narrated events as historical and as pointing to future, real events and conditions of individuals and the world. P. depends on *Romans* 4 (and *Rom*. 4:13 in particular) for Abraham as the incarnation of Faith, and thus the father of Christianity. The events of Sara's late, miraculous pregnancy furnish a larger frame of reference for the reader's own understanding of reality. Thus, the fruit (i.e. virtues) produced by the originally sterile, yet now purified, soul of the reader signify the eschatological entry of Christ into humans and the Church (Pollman 2001: 110). Christ and the community of believers signify individual, ecclesiological, and eschatological levels of being. P.'s poetic conception, unlike the treatment of the stories in patristic literature, treats these events from *Genesis* as a kind of progression from the concrete (exterior battles of Old Testament armies) to the abstract (interior battles within the soul of the reader) by means of the concrete (the figure and deeds of Christ). On the *Preface* to the *Psychomachia*, see Palla (1978: 160–67) and Mastrangelo (2008: 84–93). On the Christian appropriation of the Hebrew Bible through the pairing up of characters and events, see Auerbach (1973) and Smith (1976: 177–94).

1 [1] "The first example of belief"

The phrase recalls *Gen*. 17:5–6 where Abraham "believed the Lord" when God told Abraham that he would have as many descendants as the stars. In the first line of the *Preface*, P. establishes faith as the main theme (also, "faithful old man").

3–4 [4] "Abram . . . Abraham"

In renaming him, God indicates that he and Abraham have a new relationship and Abraham a new status. In both of these dialectical iterations of the name, the meaning of the Hebrew is "the ancestor is exalted." In addition, the Hebrew word for "ancestor of a multitude," is similar to the name. Abraham along with Moses is the progenitor of many nations. Along with line 2 ("elderly father of a blessed people"), these verses establish Abraham's status not only as the patriarch of the Israelites but also as a central figure for orthodox Christians.

5–6 [5] "he offered his child/as a sacrifice"

At *Gen*. 22:1–19, God commands Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac. P. uses the story as the first example in the *Preface* illustrating Abraham's

faith and trust in God. The allegorical implication is that the acquisition of a virtuous soul requires a similar sacrifice, though the nature of that sacrifice is left somewhat ambiguous—the need "to fight" vices (8) might be the sacrifice the poet means.

8 [9–10] "He persuades us to fight heathen nations"

As in the main poem, the *Preface* establishes the idea of combat as the main narrative content. P. will move quickly from the general idea of "us" (the readers) fighting to the more allegorically specific, Old Testament story of the military commander Abraham liberating his nephew Lot from Sodom and Gomorra (12–35 and *Gen*. 14:1–24). By gathering an army of virtues, we will fight armies of vices within our souls.

9–10 [11–12] "offspring,/the children from Mother Virtue, and a marriage pleasing to God"

In addition to combat, Prudentius employs the metaphor of marriage and children in order to put it to the reader whether her soul associates with virtues or vices, or whether her soul produces virtues or vices. Moreover, in line 10, virtue appears to be a personified Platonist form: abstract, eternal, and unchanging—qualities possessed by God. "Mother Virtue," a phrase unique to P., and "God" are ontologically parallel and in the Latin occupy parallel syntactical and grammatical positions (*Deo placentem, Matre Virtute editam*).

11 [13] "The monsters of our servile heart"

The Latin for "monsters" is *portenta* (also line 14 [20] of the main poem), which stands for vices. It can also mean "wonderful stories" from the meaning of the verb, *portendo*, to "reveal" or "foretell." Vices have qualities that terrify by their very appearance or by their association with an awful future. "Our servile heart" highlights another theme of the *Preface* of the soul as slave to vice, and it is specified in allegorical fashion at line 17 as Lot is described as "a servant to the harsh chains of the barbarians."

14 [16–18] "Though a foreigner, he was a lover of these cities and a prominent man"

Lot's status as a foreigner (*advena*) in Sodom and Gomorra may have a parallel in *Gen*. 13–14 when God tells Abraham that the Israelites will be foreigners (*advenae*) and slaves without a homeland after they escape from Egypt. However, here P. points out that Lot enjoyed high status in cities that stand for sin. As in the *Genesis* account, Lot is compared unfavorably with Abraham, for instance, in how they practice hospitality (*Gen*. 18:1–6 and 19:1–11).

17–18 [22] "Abram armed 318/of his house-born slaves"

Three hundred and eighteen was also the number of soldiers in Abraham's army at *Gen*. 14:14. For Christian thinkers, the number in its Greek

form, TIH (T=300, I=10, H=8) came to represent Jesus Christ embedded in the Old Testament. The T stands for the Cross (Tertullian *adv. iud*. 11 and *adv. marc*. 3. 22), and IH for the first two letters of Jesus' name, Ιησούς (Ambrose *in luc*. 6.17 and *de abr*. 1). The number 318 may be a reference to the number of bishops who attended the Council at Nicaea (Dressel 1860: 171, note on 57), what came to be known as the event that defined Christian doctrine. See at line 41 where P. activates the Christian allegorical meaning of the number.

19–22 [24–25] "The enemy had been weighed down . . . burdened with their massive loot"

P. portrays the barbarian army as compromised by their material greed. The imagery of being weighed down and burdened will be applied to the vices in the main poem. Not only does the imagery connote greed and unrestrained materialism, but it also recalls Platonist imagery of the soul, heavy and sluggish from its worldly attachments; for example, Porphyry (*sent*. 29.18.14) and Augustine (*conf*. 13.7.8).

22 [28] "He tramples the wounded"

In the first battle of the main poem, Faith tramples on the eyes of Paganism—though the typical verb in Latin, *calcat*, is different but a clear synonym for the verb used here, *proterit*. When virtues win their single combats, they often are portrayed standing above their foes, even stepping on them. In P.'s series of hymns on the martyrs, the *Peristephanon*, after the martyr Agnes has died, her soul takes up a gods-eye position, overlooking all of creation and she "tramples upon" all the darkness in the world, including anger and fear, as well as material wealth (*pe*. 14.112); and Eulalia at *pe*. 3.74 "tramples idols under foot." In the *Preface* to the *Apotheosis*, line 42, P. reverses the roles and portrays the enemy "trampling upon" those who should have faith but do not; also used of Alaric, the sacker of Rome in 410 (*symm*. 2.700).

26 [34] "Abram, the destroyer of the enemy victory"

The Latin word for "destroyer," *dissipator*, comes from the verb "to scatter." It points forward to the main poem, in which vices are dismembered, scattered, and destroyed (for example, the death of Discord, *psych*. 720, which recalls Epicurean images of soul death; Cicero, *tusc*. 1.9.18; Mastrangelo 2008).

29 [38] "Fresh from the slaughter of so many men"

The *Preface* normalizes the violence the reader encounters in the battles of the main poem. The portrayal of the virtues who, like Abraham, violently punish their enemies, the vices, has elicited consternation from modern critics (Lewis 1971: 69; Clifford 1974: 28; Lavarenne 1992[2]: 11–12). More recently scholars have furnished various explanations for the

Psychomachia's scenes of extreme violence (Paxson 1994: 66–69 and Mastrangelo 2008: 145–55).

30–32 [39–43] "a priest gives the hero heavenly food . . . Melchisedec"

P. (and other early Christin authors) often exploits typology that focuses on one-to-one correspondences between persons and events of the New and Old Testament texts. This serves to give authority to the New Testament, Christ, and Christian doctrine, as it appropriates the Hebrew Bible. Here, P. highlights three typological aspects of Melchisedec, the priest who blesses Abraham at *Gen*. 14:18–20: first, he provides Abraham with "heavenly food," which is how the receiving of Christian doctrine is described later in the *Psychomachia*; second, he is a priest of God (a founder of a priesthood, *Psalm* 110. 4) and a king, two roles that Christian typological exegesis attributed to Christ; and third, Melchisedech's origin is unknown, including his parents, a description that foreshadows lines 42–43 where Christ is described in similar mysterious and negative terms. This style of description employed by Early Christian poets and exegetes is called apophatic theology: "the idea that human reason in the form of language can neither describe nor capture adequately the divine godhead, and by extension, the divine part of the soul" (Mastrangelo 2008: 83). As a poet, P. faced the dilemma that words as expressions of human reason and conceptions of the world cannot describe the very subject matter of his poetry. The construction of typological and allegorical figures in order to describe or say something meaningful about God and the soul is a central part of P.'s solution to this literary (and theological) problem.

36 [49] "yet she regrets her laughter"

At *Gen*. 18:12–14, the elderly Sara shows a lack of faith by laughing out loud when God promises her that she will have a child. God notices, and she becomes afraid and denies that she did indeed laugh.

36–37 [50–51] "This narrative thread was preconceived/in her, an example that our life reshapes**"**

Having stated the stories of Abraham, Lot, the triple-shaped trinity of angels, and Sara, P. grounds his exegesis (biblical interpretation) with a declaration of method of typology. Typological (figural) reading forms correspondences between types (*figurae*) that lead to a meaning or interpretation referred to as allegorical (Frye 1965 and 1982; Young 1994: 36; Mastrangelo 2008: 44). Dawson (2002: 11) elaborates: "The intelligibility of biblical narrative for the figural reader lies in the perception of divinely constructed figural relationships between persons and events in the world . . . preserving historicity means reading in such a way as to allow the text to have an appropriate ethical impact on the present-day reader."

The story of Sara's life, i.e. not able to have a child but pregnant in old age, is an "example" (*figuram*), which suggests a typological interpretation, like the earlier "example of belief" (*credenda via*, line 1 and Pollman 2001: 109). In his poetry, P. uses *figura* as equivalent to *exemplum*, *typus*, or even *allegoria*. Christian intellectual discourse on *figura* begins with Paul, 1*Cor*. 10:6, 11 (τύποι) and continues throughout patristic literature. The allegorical meaning of Abraham as a *figura* of faith originates in his near sacrifice of Isaac, his rescue of Lot, and his reward of the miracle pregnancy of Sara, herself a *figura*, who in turn represents Mary, the Immaculate Conception, Incarnation of Christ, and the rebirth of the soul. The Christian reader is able to "reshape," that is, "interpret" Sara's story so that it means the rebirth of the reader's soul through acceptance of Christ's story and the doctrines that follow from it. Augustine at *civ*. 16.31 uses the concept of *figura* in the same way as P. to interpret the Abraham story cycle. Other instances where P. also uses *figura* as an allegorical term occur at *cath*. 1.16, 12.143 and a few lines down in the *Preface* to the *Psychomachia* 41 [58] (van Assendelft 1976: 65). Other Christian poets, e.g. Commodianus, Paulinus of Nola, Dracontius, and Sedulius do not use *figura* as an allegorical trope (though see Dracontius, *de laud dei* 2.77–80). P. is explicit about his use of typological terminology at *pe*. 10.626–30 (Smith 1976: 174–78; Mastrangelo 2008: 60–74); the Latin for "thread," *linea*, has the sense of a sketch (*TLL* 1436.40–58) that is made according to a *figura* ("example"). Each individual's life should follow that sketch or outline as an engraver or even a painter or sculptor would. Compare *Cath*. 7.50: *sequendam calle recto lineam* ("a sketch/line to be followed through the correct path").

36 [50] "was preconceived"

The Latin, *praenotata*, literally means, "predicted" or "designated beforehand" (*TLL* 10.736.53–64; L&S II). Unlike Christian poets before or immediately after him, P. engages in the exegetical use of this typological term (also *pe*. 10.629). Such a usage is commonplace in patristic literature (Tertullian *de bapt*. 4; *adv. iud*. 14; Augustine *en*. *in ps*. 105.7).

37 [51] "reshapes in true measure"

The Latin for "reshapes," *resculpat*, literally means "form again /renew." Augustine exploits the same meaning to describe the *spiritus* after a moral or spiritual conversion (*de vera relig*. 34.64; *enarrationes in psalmos* 6.5; cf. Aug. *serm*. 43.34 and Tertullian *ieiun*. 5.2). The nuclear meaning, "carve out, form again" (*L&S*), suits typological discourse since it is associated with an engraver who uses a drawing or outline to trace out an engraving (Charlet 2003: 242, n.26; Burton 1989: 7). The Latin for "in true measure," *recto pede*, is an adaptation of part of a formulaic phrase from Paul (*Gal*. 2:14: οὐκ ὀρθοπόδουσιν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, "They do

not advance toward the truth of the gospel") translated by Tertullian (*non recto pede incederent ad evangelii veritatem*, *adv. marc*. 1.20) and Jerome (*comm. ad gal*. 1) to indicate whether one follows in the truth of the gospels. Here the phrase refers to poetry's relation to doctrine and contributes to P.'s claim that poetic verse (*pede*) is an imitation of God's writing" (see Introduction p. 30). As part of P.'s explicit statement of allegorical (typological) interpretation, line 37 [51] sits squarely in the tradition, beginning with Paul and continuing through 4th-century patristic writing.

38 [51] "We must watch over the weapons of our faithful hearts"

P. explicitly mentions spiritual, internal warfare, which is the narrative artifice that will dominate the proem of the main poem. The Latin for "hearts" (*pectorum*) stands for the seat of the soul and emotions: *animus*, *anima*, or *mens* (*TLL* 10.914. 5–19; 10.1.916. 16–60; Gnilka 1963: 11). *Psych*. 5 repeats the word in a prepositional phrase (*nostri de pectoris antro*, "from the cavern of our souls") and embellishes the meaning through a Vergilian allusion (see note). The Latin word for "faithful" (*fidelium*) recalls Abraham's most important characteristic mentioned in the first line of the *Preface*, *fidelis* (compare the usage at *psych. praef*. 36 describing Abraham's descendants) and looks forward to the main poem. Throughout his poetic works, P. revisits Abraham and his exemplary quality of faith and the stories associated with it (*cath*. 12. 41–48; *apoth*. 28–30, 362–75; and *TH* 4, 5). Here Abraham's exemplary faith corresponds to the virtue of faith, to be enacted in the main body of the poem by the bellicose personification Faith (15–29) and by the reader as well.

38–39 [53–54] "every part of our body, taken captive and enslaved to filthy desire"

Enslavement recalls Lot's capture by hostile forces (*Preface* 16–17). In the first half of the *Preface*, Lot's incarceration by the enemy is allegorized into the release of the soul from its bondage to vice. As the phrase "filthy desire" looks back to the moral condition of Sodom and Gomorra, it points forward to the battle between Chastity and Lust, who is described as "dirty" (*lutulenta*) at line 68 [87]. This continues the pattern of the *Preface*, which is sprinkled with language that refers to upcoming battles. Linguistic correspondences imply typologies that bind the past, present, and future into a single Christian, Salvation History. The phrase "taken captive" effects a correspondence between the figurative (soul) and the historical (body) by recalling Lot's condition (compare *Preface* 16, "the capture").

39–40 [55] "[every part of our body] must be liberated by the forces we gather at home."

The Latin for "must be liberated" (*liberandam*) can have the sense of both freeing something or oneself from material danger (*OLD* 3) or a

psychological condition (*OLD* 6); or the noun cognate can indicate being in a state of freedom to choose and live as one pleases (*OLD liber* 10). The meaning here encompasses all of these senses. Abraham "willingly" or freely (*Preface* 6) offers up his son Isaac for sacrifice; he "liberates" the booty (*Preface* 23); and Lot "is freed" to move his neck (*Preface* 25). These narrative and historical moments will give way to the climactic and allegorical moment when the body itself is liberated from its own destructive desires. Lines 39–40 assume *Jn*. 8:34–40 with its emphasis on freeing oneself from the bondage of lust or sin. In the passage, Jesus argues with Jews over the correct way to be truly children of Abraham, i.e. accept Jesus as the son of God as Abraham would! Not to do so is to be a slave to sin. The binary opposition between making oneself free and making oneself a slave is central to P.'s conception here and follows on from *John*.

40 [55] "at home"

This phrase indicates the move from the historical and the concrete to the allegorical and symbolic, i.e. from Abraham's battles to the soul's interior struggles with vice; from Abraham's homegrown troops to the soul's resources to fight vice (the literal "house-born slaves," *venulas*, at line 18 [22] and the figurative "super-rich in our own native capabilities," *large venularum divites*, at line 40 [56]); from the visit of the triple-formed angel to his "hut" to the entering of Christ into the soul (lines 33–34 and 43–46). The *Preface* ends with another reference to home ("house" for *domum*, 50 [68]), standing for both the concrete and the allegorical, as Sara giving birth to Abraham's heir simultaneously represents a pure Christian soul gained through winning the struggle to maintain the most important virtue, faith. The language of lines 33, 40, 45, and 49 form a semantic field of "home" as a metaphor for the individual soul.

41 [57–58] "if we understand through the mystic figure what 318 can do."

The number 318 is allegorical for Christ himself, reaching back to the story of Abraham freeing Lot and forward to Christ purifying the soul for immortal life. The Latin for "mystic," *mystica*, can mean a combination of "hidden" or "allegorical" (even "spiritual") and participates in apophatic theological language in which human reason in the form of language cannot adequately describe God, divine events, doctrine, or the human soul (Pelikan 1993: 40–74 and 200–31; Mastrangelo 2008: 83). Rufinus' translations of the works of Origen use *mysticus* in this way (*figuris mysticis*, *in lev. hom*. 5.8; *mystica haec sunt et ineffabilia*, *in num. hom*. 25.6); also, Ambrose (*haec doctrina iam mystica est*, *de Isaac/anima* 4.23) and Augustine (*mystica facta et dicta*, *conf*. 13.20). See also Paulinus of Nola *ep*. 49.11

(*mystica argumenta*); *carm*. 9.14 (*mystica cantica*); and *carm*. 15.61 (*mystica origo*).

42 [59] "Christ himself, the true priest"

Earlier at *Preface* 30–32, Melchisedech, whom Jews in the Dead Sea Scrolls speculated was an angelic figure who saved the righteous (*11QMelch* with Oxford Bible 2010: 2109, note on *Heb*. 7:1–28), is apophatically described and feeds Abraham "heavenly food" after he returns triumphant from the sacking of Sodom and Gomorra. He is described as a "priest," "priest of God" (30), and "king" (31). He is the type to the ante-type Christ, who is the "true priest," who also is described apophatically (42) and who gives food to the victorious soul (43). For early Christians, Christ as "priest" (*sacerdos*) is the mediator between God and humans (*Heb*. 6:19–20); at *Heb*. 6:20, Christ is described as a πρόδρομος, "one who advances to explore and prepare the way" Mounce 1993: 390). In this context, *Psalm* 110:4 resonates, predicting victory for King David, the eternal priest, and thus prefiguring Jesus's resurrection and rule over nations (*Acts* 2:34; 1*Cor*. 15:25; *Heb*. 1:3, 13). P. refers to this tradition at *cath*. 9.4–6 where David, "the priest king," *sacerdos rex*, sings of the coming of Christ (O'Daly 2012: 262–63).

42–43 [60] "born from an unutterable,/august father"

Most textual critics print the Latin line *parente natus alto et ineffabili* (Cunningham 1966; Gnilka 2000: vol. 1: 113–25, and Charlet 2003: 239–41) but then argue over which lines of 31–32 [41–44] to keep, reject, or view as interpolations. The alternative line (60A= *parente inenarribili atque uno satus*, printed by Thomson 1949) is part of the manuscript tradition and has similar language of 41–44 but has been understood to be more likely an interpolation since it does not appear in the manuscripts until after the Carolingian age (Charlet 2003: 240). Lines 31–32 [41–42] fits with the rest of the *Preface*, expressing both an allegorical and apophatic point of view that is consistent with the *Preface*'s penchant for repetition and P.'s other treatments of Abraham as the precursor of Christian faith (*cath*. 12.41–48; *apoth*. 28–30, 362–67, 373–75; *TH* 4). Finally, these two passages (lines 30–32 [41–44] and 42–43 [59–62]), which share language and ideas in the comparison of Christ with Melchisedech, are part of a group of passages in P.'s corpus that present two well attested alternatives from the MS tradition. Consequently, scholars have argued whether such passages are interpolations by copyists, evidence of a double recension (i.e. two separate editions of the corpus by P. or later editor), or are simply corrupt.

43–44 [61–62] "Christ . . . will offer food . . . and will enter the home of the pure hearts"

This phrase recalls "heavenly food" (*ferculis caelestibus*, *Preface* 30 [39]). These are concrete words allegorized: the Latin for "food" (*cibum*)

is the food of Christian doctrine for the soul (Augustine, *conf*. 3.1.1) and perhaps here a reference to the Eucharist (cf. Tertullian *pud*. 18; Sedulius *carm. pasch*. 1.70–72; and Paulinus of Nola *ep*. 23.16); the Latin for "home" (*casa*) is a humble cottage or hut (*OLD* A), but here it stands for the (humble) soul and parallels *Preface* 33's "hut" (*mapalia*, 33 [46]; cf. *TH* 4 where *casa* refers to the "hut" in which Sara and Abraham entertain the triple-formed divine visitor).

44 [62] "of the pure hearts,"

P. moves from the "victors" to a generalizing notion of a soul (compare line 7). Christ is entering a soul purged of bad emotions and vices, whereas earlier in the *Preface*, the literal house of Abraham and Sara was entered.

45–46 [63] "he will give them the reward of welcoming the Trinity"

P. continues the typological allegorizing of the earlier episode (33–34). Here Christ looks forward and back to the other parts of the Trinity: Christ (42), the (Holy) Spirit (47), and the Father (43 and 49). The Latin phrase for "give them the reward of," *monstrans honorem*, has a participle from the verb, *monstro*, and is equivalent to *praestare*, "to give" (*TLL* 8.1445.50 and *praesto*, L&S II.C.2.d). The Latin for "reward" is *honorem*, (*L&S* II.A). "Welcoming" recalls "welcomes" at 34 [46] (*hospitis*). P. returns the reader to the visit of the triple-formed angel through linguistic repetition.

46 [63] "the Trinity"

The central doctrine of Christian theology posits one God with three persons (the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) but one substance (Cross and Livingstone 1997[3]: 1641). P. explicitly mentions the Trinity elsewhere: *pe*. 6.5–6; *cath*. 6. 1–8, which, like lines 42–50, mentions all three members of the Trinity, employs apophatic language, and emphasizes Christ as issuing directly from the father; and in the 12-lined preface to the *Apotheosis*, sometimes referred to as the *Hymn for the Trinity*, where P. engages in a pro-Nicene definition of the Trinity including the idea that *sapientia*, wisdom, is equal to the Son and ontologically simultaneous with the Father and the Son. At lines 33–34, the usage is less straightforward, describing the triple-formed angel who visits Abraham's house and foreshadowing the explicit and didactic use of line 46. P.'s theology is informed and comparable in certain ways to Augustine's treatment (Ayres 2004: 366–70).

46–50 [64–68] "Through its sacred and eternal embraces . . . a worthy heir."

The passage forms the second of a pair with the story of Sara's miraculous pregnancy and giving birth (33–36). The references to marriage, fertility, childbirth, descendants, lateness, and the Trinity produce a typological allegory that moves from the historical events of Abraham and Sara to the exegetical meaning of Christian doctrine, namely that each human soul can

commune with the Father through the Holy Spirit, if the soul is purified through faith in Christ and a purging of vices.

47 [64] "the divine spirit"

Some commentators have taken P.'s Latin *spiritus* to represent allegorically Abraham (Burton 1989: 7), while the soul stands for Sara (Burton 1989: 7; Prosperi 2000: 102, note 16). However, more plausible is *spiritus* as the Holy Spirit (Lavarenne 1933: 214; Prosperi 2000: 102, note 16), though at the end of the *Psychomachia*, the use of the term *spiritus* is more ambiguous (see notes). The function of the Holy Spirit was contested in the late 4th century, but after the First Council of Constantinople (381 CE, Cross and Livingstone 1997[3]: 406 and Ayres 2004: 256–59), which addressed anew the Holy Spirit's ontological status and function, it became relatively mainstream in the Church. Here P. reflects this state of affairs through the Holy Spirit's entering the soul as an agent of spiritual rebirth. P.'s notions parallel Ambrose's idea of the Holy Spirit: "the Spirit's activities are also those attributed to Father and Son and, just as Father and Son share one nature, so must Father, Son, and Spirit. Where the Spirit alone is spoken of as acting we know that all are present just as when any divine person is described as acting alone . . . the gift that enables our sanctification" (Ayres 2004: 265); and similarly Augustine: the Spirit "is the love of God . . . because it is by the Spirit that we are enabled to follow Christ" (Ayres 2004: 371). P., Ambrose, and Augustine hearken back to *Rom*. 5:5, "God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given to us." The Holy Spirit can bestow purity and grace on humans (Origen *in ep. paul. ad rom*. 4.9, Augustine *ep*. 145.3). See also *Hymn for the Trinity* 3 (the Preface to the *Preface* of the *Apotheosis*, *apoth*. 241–42, and 881 where P. uses the phrase *sanctus spiritus* to refer to a part of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit. See note to line 714.

48 [65] "to be married and fertile with the eternal seed."

The language of marriage sanctions the joining of the soul and the Holy Spirit. The eternal seed is planted in the soul through the union of the Holy Spirit and the soul. It may point to the idea of divine grace, concerning which the debate was just beginning in the late 4th century (Lavarenne 1933: 214; on grace, Cross and Livingstone 1997[3]: 697).

49 [67] "labor . . . dowry"

The Latin for "labor," *puerpera*, primarily means "a woman in childbirth." It is also associated with the virgin birth and Mary (Paulinus of Nola *carm*. 27.281; Hilary of Poitiers *hymn*. 1.8; Jerome *ep*. 77.2 and 108.55). Like Sara, Mary gives birth to a miracle baby, except that this time the offspring, Jesus, is the incarnation of the divine. The soul, victorious over the vices, also produces a divine status ("eternal seed," 48), in that when it

lets in the Holy Spirit and Christ, it communes with the Father and becomes immortal. The Latin for "dowry," *dotem*, can also mean "a quality or talent of a person's mind" (*OLD* 3), suggesting a figurative meaning here. On its own, "the dowry" refers to the ready state of the soul after the Holy Spirit has entered, i.e. empty of vice, full of virtues and faith (cf. Prosperi 2000: 102 n.17, *dotem* as equivalent to virtue). Together with "*embraces*" (46) and "married" (48), "dowry" expresses the metaphor of marriage, the meaning of which is the soul's readiness to unite with God.

49 [68] "will fill the Father's house with a worthy heir"

The Latin for "will fill," *inplebit*, recalls a phrase used earlier of Abraham, who is "full of God" (21[26], *plenus Deo*), and elsewhere of Mary during the Annunciation (*TH* 25.99–100). The Latin for "Father's house*," Domum patris*, is a somewhat formulaic phrase in the commentaries on biblical books of Augustine and Jerome (e.g. *de nat. et orig. anim*. 2.10.14; *comm. in min. proph*. 1.2; also Jerome *ep*. 22.24), but here it also signifies the climax of the soul's progress to union with the father and immortality. As the final word of the *Preface*, "house," *domum*, contains concrete and figurative associations. It recalls "home" (45), which stands for the soul as it battles the vices, and "home" (40) that represents the soul in its pure and humble state. It also connects further back to "hut" (33), Abraham's modest hut that the triple-formed angel visits, referring historically to the patriarch's hut and allegorically to the soul about to be purified. Finally, "house" at 49 anticipates "the inner sanctuary of the temple" of line 740 [869], which describes the inner chamber of *Sapientia* and Christ's temple. In its final occurrence in the poem, it is a fully developed allegory of the soul united with God (Smith 1976: 298). Augustine at *civ*. 17.12 associates "house" (*domus*) and the temple that David is inspired by God to build (2 *Sam*. 7:10, 11, 19, 27, 29): ***domus*** *enim Dauid propter genus Dauid;* ***domus*** *autem dei eadem ipsa propter* ***templum*** *dei de hominibus factum, non de lapidibus, ubi habitet in aeternum populus cum deo et in deo suo, et deus cum populo atque in populo suo; ita ut deus sit* ***implens*** *populum suum, et populus* ***plenus deo****suo, cum deus erit omnia in omnibus, ipse in pace praemium, qui uirtus in bello*. ("For it is called the **house** of David because of David's race; the same **house** is called the **house** of God because of the **temple** of God, made of men, not stones. In that temple the people shall dwell eternally with their God and in their God, and God shall dwell with his people and in his people, so that God **may fill his** people, and the people **be filled with their God**, while God shall be all in all [1*Cor*. 15:28]. He Himself, who is their strength in war, shall also be their reward in peace," trans. Dyson [1998]; for more on this passage, see note to 651.) *Preface* 49 has much in common with this passage. The phrase "with a worthy heir" hearkens back

to the historical Abraham's heir, Isaac (and the illegitimate Ishmael, *Gen*. 16:15; 21:13), as well as pointing to the future with the birth of Christ. The phrase affirms the allegorical notion of the pure, virtuous state of the soul, suggested by "dowry" in the preceding line. Charlet (2003: 247–48) argues that peace is the final state or fruit of the purified soul, especially when the completed temple is considered at the end of the *Psychomachia*.

Psychomachia

1–14 [1–20] Proem: A hymn or prayer to Christ. The most notable stylistic features are the insistence on military terms. The poet also elaborates four essential concepts: 1) the vices; 2) the battle against them; 3) the mind, soul, or heart as the site of the battle; and 4) the essential, quasi-military aid Christ provides. Metaphoric consistency is less important (Is this a siege, a set-battle, a civil war? Where exactly in the body is the battle taking place? See Nugent 1985: 20) than the varied repetition of a key thought: Christ leads the virtues in an internal war against the vices.

The proems of Latin hexameter poems tend to announce literary and generic affiliations. Adaptation of a famous line of the *Aeneid* in the opening verse is radically different from the biblical tone of the *Preface* and suggests Vergilian epic immediately, a promise that will be followed up later. But the normal marks of an epic proem, such as a thumbnail sketch of the plot, are lacking. Some of the language evokes the tradition of Latin hexameter didactic poetry, with which P. would also have been quite familiar. The series of repetitive questions articulating the topic ("Tell us how," "Tell us what") is a signature of didactic introductions (Lucretius *DRN* 1.56–57, 127–35 and Vergil *georg*. 1.1–5), as is the prayer to and praise of a deity conceived of as the patron of the subject (Lucretius *DRN* 1.1–43; Vergil *georg*. 1.1–42, 2.1–8). Such a prayer is sometimes followed by a briefer address to the reader or dedicatee (13–14 [18–20] and Lucretius, *DRN* 1.50–61). Regarding the deity as the source of knowledge about the subject also has pagan didactic precedents (Nemesianus *cyneg*. 86–98, Quintus Serenus *de med*. *praef*. 9), and emphasis on comprehensive and rational treatment of the topic is a didactic feature (cf. Lucretius *DRN* 1.51, 54, 59, 105–29 and Vergil *georg*. 1.1–5). P. incorporates the Latin didactic tradition into his poetic program.

1 [1] "Oh Christ! You have always pitied the harsh agonies of human kind"

Compare *cath*. 9. 1–5, where Prudentius represents Christ as his lyric muse who is the source of the poet's inspiration (*hunc Camena nostra solum pangat, hunc laudet/lyra*; "my muse shall sing of him alone, it is him

that my lyre shall praise"). This line is adapted nearly word for word from Aeneas' prayer to Apollo at Cumae, in which he asks for an end to troubles for the Trojans who have landed on Italian soil:

> ***Phoebe**, gravis **Troiae** semper miserate labores* (*aen*. 6. 56)
> ***Christe**, graves **hominum** semper miserate labores* (*psych*. 1)

In the programmatically marked first verse of the poem, P. stakes his claim to being an epic successor of Vergil by substituting only two words: instead of Apollo, Christ is the inspiration for Roman and for epic poetry, and instead of Trojans becoming Romans, Romans are to become universal citizens in the new dispensation (cf. *symm*. 2. 586–92). The exterior conflicts of Vergil's Trojans now refer to the interior struggle of every Christian soul (Bastiaensen 1993: 122–24). Christianity was becoming a universal religion (Brown 2003: 13–15). This is not merely a prayer for aid in a difficult struggle but a forward-looking request for support, like the end of the proem to *Georgics* 1 (addressed to Octavian): *ignarosque viae mecum **miseratus** agrestis/ingredere*, "taking pity along with me on farmers ignorant of the path, begin." Paulinus of Nola alludes directly to *Aen*. 6.56 at *carm*. 18.261, in which Apollo is replaced by Saint Felix: *Felix sancta, meos semper miserate labores*. This is said by a poor farmer who blames Felix for the theft of his only two oxen, giving the allusion a bucolic and, only incidentally, an epic tone (Gnilka 2000: vol. II: 60–61). In another passage, Paulinus replaces Apollo with Christ as the source of poetic inspiration, but does not specifically allude to Vergil (*carm*. 15. 30–33).

2 [2] "You are known for your Father's strength, but yours is one power"

The Latin, *unus*, means "one" or "same" (*OLD* 3). The phrase (especially the words "strength," *nervis*, and "power," *virtus*) establishes Christ equal to the Father but also as a leader of the quasi-military struggle; the Latin word for "power" here is vague, evoking military skill, but probably including the power to work miraculous cures, as in Juvencus, *ELQ*, 2.600–601 (*variis hominum languoribus optat/concessam in populos **patria virtute** medellam*, "to many ailments he applied the cures/granted the nations by his **Father's powers**" (trans. McGill 2017). The verbal phrase "you are known for" associates the Father and the Son with Christian *virtus*, not pagan manliness, the standard classical sense (see also *cath*. 9.107). P. is careful not to refer to himself, the poet. If there is to be fame it will be Christ's and the Father's, not the poet's, though through the publication of his didactic and martial epic, the poet, like his pagan predecessors, will achieve fame.

2–3 [3–4] "For we worship one god from each name . . . since you are God from the Father, Oh Christ,"

P. is expressing the orthodox, Nicene position on the Father and the Son as one indivisible, divine entity (he has a concept of the full Trinity, *Cath*. 6.1–4 and Bergman 1897: 1). The "Father" and the "Son" are names that express this unity. On the Council of Nicaea and pro-Nicene theology in the late 4th century, see notes to 604–606 and 675, and on unity, see notes to 278–301. For the thought, see Novatian, *de trin*. 27.19: "and since he is from the Father, whatever that thing is, he is the son, yet he remains separate, so that it is not the Father who is the son, since neither is the son the Father" (*et quoniam ex patre est, quicquid illud est, filius est, manente tamen distinctione, ut non sit pater ille qui filius, quia nec filius ille qui pater est*).

4 [5–6] "militias of our armed minds"

The Latin, *milite . . . mens armata*, clearly indicates the militarized soul. *Mens* participates in the semantic field of mind/soul/spirit (*animus*/*anima*), heart (*pector*, *praecordia*, *cor*), and other words for the soul. Compare *psych*. 15 where Prudentius focuses on one's "inborn nature" (*ingenium armas*). The Latin for "sins," *culpas*, has the Christian sense but also recalls the word's pagan associations with personal vices (*vitia*) and crimes (*scelera*), *OLD* 3. Other Latin words used for "sin" by early Christian authors are *peccatum* (*TLL* 895.21–67) and *delictum*, both of which move beyond the ethical sense of "wrong" in pagan authors (*TLL* 459.36; 460.71–84; as a vice, *TLL* 461.1–11).

5 [6] "from the caverns of our souls."

P.'s version of a formulaic hexametric phrase, *pectore ab imo*, found at *aen*. 6. 55, Lucretius *DRN* 3. 57, and Catullus 64. 198 is *nostri de pectoris antro*. The prayer and invocation to Christ parallels Aeneas' prayer "from his innermost being" to receive assistance from Apollo to meet the Sybil and enter the underworld (compare *psych*. 774: *sub pectoris . . . antro*). The association of the cave with the interior human soul, implicit in *Aeneid* 6 in the form of the underworld with its variety of characters, becomes explicit in Juvencus (*ev*. 1.588), the *Psychomachia*, and in Christian poetry thereafter (e.g. Paulinus Perigueux, *de vit. mart*. 5.804 and 6.102).

5 [7–8] "a mutiny arises within."

Vergil uses similar language at *aen*. 1. 148, where the storm that threatens Aeneas and his comrades becomes a metaphor of Roman civil war. P. exploits the metaphor in conjunction with the martial language of the proem to move the civil war to the interior of the person. Also, Christ is the new *vir* (hero) who can calm the storm. (Smith 1976: 276). This allusion further thrusts the *Psychomachia* into the Roman epic tradition spearheaded by Vergil (on epic *katabasis* in the *psychomachia*, see *Gosserez* 2001: 95–103 and Mastrangelo 2008: 15–36). Vergil and Claudian both catalogue vices who

originate in pagan hell (*aen*. 6.273–89 and *in rufinum* 1. 12–40). The language of interiority ("within," *intus*) and singular struggles (*rixa in homine*, Aug. *serm*. 154A) reinforce Late Antique thought's emphasis on the destiny and autonomy of each individual as she seeks a union with God through a recognition of humanity's collective history, i.e. Salvation History from the Fall to the Last Judgement (see further Mastrangelo 2010b: 246–50).

6 [8] "the struggle with this sickness"

The Latin for "struggle," *rixa*, is here a near synonym for *seditio* ("mutiny," 8 [5]) that continues and varies the battle imagery of an interior combat of an individual.

7 [9] "Tell us what fortress there is to defend the soul's freedom."

For the virtues as a "fortress" (*praesidium*) responding in an orderly fashion to the command of the wise man, see Seneca. *ep*. 59, where Sextius refers to virtues as reinforcements deployed by the wise man in reserve to counter any attack. The Christian idea of freedom implies two facets of freedom. First, the pure, good (free) soul requires protection in order to remain that way; and second, the protected, pure soul is able to act freely in the world to choose the correct, Christian path. The Latin word *libertas* is spiritual freedom in Christ (cf. *Rom*. 8.18–25, *2Cor*. 3.17 *ubi . . . spiritus domini, ibi libertas*). The *Preface* prepares the way for this meaning, employing "free" (*liber*) and its cognates as liberation from oppressive or foreign hostile forces (of Lot, *Preface* 25; and of psychological resources (*Preface* 39). Dracontius continues this Christianized usage of the term (*de laud. dei* 2. 783–90).

8 [11] "resists with robust force"

The same Latin expression (*obsistat meliore manu*) occurs at Claudian's *c.m*. 30. 205 where Stilicho is compared to a commander who takes the rudder during a particularly stormy moment in Thrace. On the relationship between P. and Claudian see Cameron (1970: 469–70); on Claudian and the *Psychomachia*, Dorfbauer (2012: 51, 63–64).

8 [10] "the Furies infused in our hearts"

Furiae were goddesses of vengeance, but *furiae* (plural for singular) could be used of wicked, violent, or war-mad persons, an insult hurled frequently by Cicero and others (*TLL* 6.1615.37–60); it can also mean madness, frenzy, or passionate lust (*OLD* 2). The hint of personification makes the word ideal for P.'s purposes (cf. line 34 [46], "raging fury," *furiae . . . flagrantis* and line 75 [96], "the greatest of the furies," *furiarum maxima*, of *Libido*). According to Lactantius, pagan philosophers and poets describe certain negative emotions as "furies" (anger, lust, the desire for wealth), which could function as sources for both vices and virtues (for example, anger as necessary for the performance of bravery). *epit*. 4.1: *tres* ***affectus,***

vel ut ita dicam, tres ***furiae*** *sunt, quae in animis hominum tantas* ***perturbationes*** *ciunt . . . ira, quae vindictam cupit avaritia, quae desiderat opes, libido, quae appetit voluptates* ("three **emotions**, or as I mean, three **furies**, which stir up such great **trouble** in the souls of human beings: . . . anger, which desires vengeance, greed, which wants wealth, and lust, which seeks pleasures"); *inst*. 6.19: *propterea poetae tres* ***furias*** *esse dixerunt, quae mentes hominum exagitent: ira . . . cupiditas . . . libido* ("therefore the poets said that there are three **furies**, which agitate the souls/minds of human beings: anger . . . desire, and lust"). Christian thinkers denied that such emotions spurred the development or performance of virtues. Good can come from only good. The Latin word *praecordia* ("hearts") is technically the midriff or diaphragm and is a synonym for *cor* ("heart") as the seat of emotions (*Lk*. 10:27).

8 [11] "my good leader"

The Latin, *ductor*, is a favorite word of Vergil (e.g. *aen*. 1.235, 4.37, 8.496) and later epic writers; it is also current in historians and military writers, and as an imperial title. Its application to Jesus is striking since it is primarily a military word; we are perhaps meant to think of a similarly military address to God in *Psalm* 60:2–3: *exaudi Deus laudationem meam intende orationi meae, . . . tu eris ductor meus*, "Hear, God, my song,/listen close to my prayer/. . . you will be my leader" (cf. *ductores* 419 [499]).

9–10 "not . . . without/the great Virtues and their strength"

One must gain possession of Christian virtues and employ one's God-given steeliness.

9 [13] "the followers of Christ,"

The Latin word *christicola* literally means "worshipper of Christ" (14 occurrences in P.'s oeuvre, including *psych*. 76 [96] and 445 [526]). P. and Paulinus of Nola are the first to use this formulation. P. uses *Christianus*—as preferred by many Christian authors from the early patristic era onward, but no other 4th- or early 5th-century author uses the word as frequently as P. After P., it becomes more frequent in the works of Paulinus Perigueux, Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and others. Compare P.'s other favorite phrase for Christians, *famuli Dei* ("servants of God," 41; also *cath*. 3.171, 10.18, *pe*. 11.61, *TH* 34), which has patristic roots (Rufinus, *eccl. hist*. 5.1.27; 7.10.3; Cassian *de inst*. 1.2.2). Dracontius is the only other early Christian poet who uses this appellation (*de laud. dei* 2.429).

10–11 [14–15] "You yourself order salvation-bringing squadrons to fight/inside the besieged body."

The Latin *depugnare* ("to fight") occurs only here in the Prudentian corpus and may be a synonym for *debellare* (Mastrangelo 2008: 21), famously from *Aen*. 6.853 when Anchises asserts Rome's mission, "to war down the

arrogant." Also, P. may be following Tertullian's use of the noun, *depugnatio*, at *de spect*. 18 for fighting to the finish (Souter 1949: 96). *Depugnare* refers to fighting against influences, conditions, or even natural forces and is also used of gladiatorial combat (see *OLD* 1b, c and 2). P.'s shift to *depugnare* is appropriate because, whereas Vergil highlights war on a large scale (*bellum*; see also *aen*. 5.730–31 and 7.651), P. focuses on a personal struggle fought to its final conclusion. The Latin adjective for "salvation-bringing" (*salutiferas*), used mostly by Augustan and post-Augustan writers and whose roots refer to health or safety associated with cult deities and divine power in general (*OLD* 2), has absorbed the idea of Christian salvation.

10–11 [14–15] "You yourself . . . you yourself"

Christ, the addressee and new, epic hero, is connected to our character through our desire to imitate his example. The internal motivation to fight for salvation and to write poetry depends on Christ.

11 [16] "our character"

The Latin, *ingenium*, continues the language of the "soul" in lines 5–7. The proem has circled back to interior language.

12 [16] "Absurdities of the heart"

The Latin, *ludibria cordis*, is another name for the vices who are also called "monsters" (*portenta*, 14 [21]; cf. Cicero *nat. deo*. 2.7). The Latin phrase can mean either "things that mock and deride the heart" or "the deceptive playthings of the heart," i.e. beguiling desires for specious goods like wealth.

13–14 [18–20] "The way of victory is at hand if we can recognize at close quarters/the features of virtues and monsters that engage them in deadly conflict."

P. stops addressing Christ at this point and turns directly to the reader. For an analogous switch of address in a didactic context, Lucretius *DRN* 1.50–61; Grattius *cyneg*. 21–23). The Latin word for "way," *via*, can mean "the right way" (*Preface* 1), which is a basic sense of *ratio* (113 [18]). The phrase looks back to the first line of the *Preface* ("the first example of belief," *credendi via*) and forward to *ad mortis iter* ("road to perdition," 70 [89]). These three existential phases of the individual correspond to temporal (and historical) categories: the past (belief), present (victory), and future (immortality). Also, P. could be alluding to the phrase "way of life" (*vivendi ratio*), found in rhetorical texts (*rhet. ad her*. 4.17.24) and philosophical texts (Cicero *de leg*. 1.32 and *tusc*. 5.12.36, Seneca fr. 17). The Ciceronian orator who is both moral and skilled lives on. Living well as a Christian relates directly to winning arguments against paganism and on behalf of Christian doctrine. The narrator and the reader are close to

the action and thus susceptible to influence. P. seems to have in mind an expansive series of vivid pictures of virtue-vice battles, that is, a scaling up of his method in *TH* with its abbreviated depictions of scenes from the Bible. The phrase "the features of the virtues" indicates that the poet is making visible the authentic features of the virtues and vices. The Latin word *facies* ("features") has the sense of pictorial representation or visualization of abstractions. Paxson (1994: 1–3) discusses the roots of personification and its Greek appellation, *prosopopoeia*, "putting on a face." Finally, Vergil tends to apply the Latin word for "deadly," *infestis*, to weapons rather than to the people who use them (*tela, aen*. 5.582; *hasta*, 10.877; *fulmen*, 5.691; see also *infestus*, *TLL* 7.1406.81 ff.).

14 [20] "monsters"

The Latin, *portenta*, i.e. the vices, as at *Preface* 11, is common in invective (poetry of abuse). On the Latin word *portenta* at *aen*. 3. 366, Servius lists equivalents: *ostenta*, *prodigia*, *miracula*, and *monstra*. Here the vices are figured as demons (Haworth 1980: 119).

15–29 [21–39] First battle: Faith (*Fides*) vs. Paganism (*Veterum Cultura Deorum*)

P. begins vigorously *in medias res* with vivid historic presents, and none of the customary setting up through pluperfect and imperfect tenses to give context (contrast the more varied tenses of the speech of Chastity (39–77 [52–98]), or the narrative of 99–125 [120–154]). The lack of physical description of the setting signals to the reader that the focus will be less on narrative than on the attributes and words of the virtues and vices that elaborate their social and doctrinal meanings.

It may be surprising after the preface that the first two personifications are treated not as protagonists in a spiritual struggle but in a historical one, indicated by Rome's own conflict between pagans and Christians. *Fides* here is not a spiritual virtue or a theological formulation, nor is she seen in Pauline terms as the complement of good works or as that which supersedes the Jewish law (*RAC* 11.48–122, *glaube*). Rather she is a personified historical force that vanquishes paganism with the help of the martyrs. Paganism, unlike the very wide ranging sin of *idololotria* with which she is often assumed to be equivalent (Lavarenne 1933: 217; but cf. Tertullian *de idol*., *TLL idololatria*, *RAC* 11.828–895 *Götzendienst*), is more of a defeated and obsolete cultic practice (23 [31–2] with note: *ora cruore/de pecudum satiate*, "her mouth, nourished with the blood of beasts"). The reader is assured that the process of conquest is final and complete.

P. had attacked the intellectual basis of pagan religion at length in the *Contra Symmachum*; here the old gods are dispatched quickly to make way for the spiritual struggles in the Christian soul that are the main focus of the work. *Fides* can be dealt with briefly here, because she will return to deliver a speech and design the temple at the climax of the work (680–99 [799–825] with notes). The mostly complete battle between the Christian faith and paganism was also less topical than the internal battles between the Catholic faith and other Christian sects, which were ongoing at this time. These are dealt with in the latter section of the poem, with the wounding of Harmony (*Concordia*) by Heresy (*Discordia Heresis*), the latter's punishment, and victory speeches by Harmony and Faith (618–699 [726–822]).

Fides is a personification of Abraham, the courageous and loyal warrior in the *Preface*. His qualities dovetail with the Vergilian and martial language and themes of this scene. With the battle between *Fides* and *Paganism*, P. connects the main body of the poem to the *Preface* and fictionalizes the terms of the soul-battle that are described in more abstract terms in the proem. Biblical spiritual combat with Faith as a shield (and other virtues that stand for parts of one's armor) goes back to the Gospels (*Eph*. 6:11–17 and cf. 1*Jn*. 5:4). Thus, although there is a break between the *Preface* and the beginning of the poem proper (by meter, and tone, i.e. from biblical to Vergilian), nevertheless a significant overlap remains. Vergil and the Bible cooperate (though with tension) in constructing a unique expression of the world.

15 [22] "Faith first enters the field of battle, her prospects uncertain."

Faith is an allegorical personification of Abraham from the *Preface*, consisting in the distilled quality of Christian faith (*cath*. 4.84; on personification, see "Introduction" 5–6). That is, Faith is prefigured by Abraham's character and life. The patriarch of the Hebrew Bible and the personification suggest the idea of the *faith* of the poet and reader as well. Prudentius also personifies her at *ham*. 853 and *pe*. 10. 352. Courage and simplicity are the hallmarks of *Fides*' entrance. By emphasizing a lack of weapons and protection, her exposed body indicates courage. Paul represents Faith armed with a shield within a context of spiritual combat (*Eph*. 6:16 and Hannah 1977: 110–11 on P.'s recasting of the details of this passage). This opening battle between Faith and Paganism and the seventh and final battle between Concord and Heresy furnish a historical and ecclesiastical frame. On the one hand the Christian faith triumphed over pagan cults, ushering in the Christian Church, and on the other hand, during Prudentius' time, the Church's unity was believed to be under constant threat from heretical divisions **(**Rohmann 2003: 239 and Pollmann 2001: 107–110). Describing Faith's chances as "uncertain" (*dubia*) is not so much about the outcome of

the war—this is not in doubt—as about the Christian inversion of appearing to be weak yet nonetheless being victorious. "The battlefield" is part of the semantic field of war that anchors the psychological struggle between virtue and vice. It can also be understood as the soul, but the correspondence is not absolute.

16 [22–23] "her clothes disheveled and rough, her shoulders and arms bare, her hair unkempt."

Paulinus of Nola in a birthday poem for the feast of St. Felix, written in 402 while Nola was under threat from an invading Gothic army, argues that Christ, through Felix, will surely crush the enemy, but that the faithful need no legions, no walls, no arms to protect them (*carm*. 26.103, 108, 156–57 with Trout 1999: 117–18). Sulpicius Severus recounts the story of the young St. Martin of Tours, once a soldier but now refusing to fight, being pressured by the emperor Julian to join the battle against an invading Germanic tribe at Worms in AD 436. Martin finally agreed to go, but only without armor and weapons (*vit. mart*. 4.5). However, before he went to face the enemy, the Germans surrendered without a fight. Sulpicius avows that "the Lord could have saved his soldier even among the swords and spears of the enemy" (*vit. mart*. 4.8). P. takes this conceit further with Faith's peasant dress ("her clothes disheveled and rough," cf. Tacitus. *hist*. 3.59). By the end of the battle, Faith is asking the martyrs to wear purple robes. Here she is agitated because of her anger against Paganism and her desire to fight her (Lavarenne 1933: 216–17). Claudian's description of Rome as a personified Minerva (*p&o* 87; Dorfbauer 2012: 51, 63–64) shares similar language with Vergil (*exertae . . . mammae*, *aen*. 1.492**)**, Statius (*theb*. 4.235, also *ach*. 1.346), Silius Italicus (*exertus humero*, *pun*. 8.587), and P. In the epic tradition this kind of description evokes a combination of a modest, unselfconscious appearance with magnificent strength. The phrase "her shoulders and arms bare" is comparable to *aen*. 11. 640–45, which describes the fallen Herminius with a bare head and nude shoulders (*umeri nudi* parallels P.'s *nuda umeros*), a carelessness that bespeaks courage and strength (Gnilka 2000: vol. 2: 63–64). P. emphasizes Faith's lack of armor and carefully explains it (18–20). This is less a sign of physical prowess (Lavarenne 1933: 217), or the Church's weakness during the persecutions (Smith 1976: 163), or aesthetic simplicity and low social status (Bergman 1897: 4), or Amazon-like tendencies (Prosperi 2000: 104, n.6)—though all these do have resonance, than the commonplace that the faithful do not need armor and weapons to win (Buchheit 1990: 392).

17 [24] "a sudden passion for glory."

Describes the condition of the epic hero at the moment before battle.

19 [26] "trusting in her mighty heart."

The phrase helps to characterize the personification, Faith, with the effect of closing the distance between the reader and the character (i.e. not only does she have limbs, but she also has a heart—an ideal one!). Faith relies on inner doctrinal harmony and her lack of worldly strength.

20 [29] "Paganism,"

The Latin phrase (*Veterum Cultura Deorum*, literally, "Worship of the Old Gods") originates from a speech of Evander, the exemplar of pagan piety (*aen*. 8. 185–9). Perhaps P. is employing a periphrasis for *Idololatria* ("idolatry"), a word that is avoided by poets. "Idolatry" had taken on a very wide meaning including all types of sins (see Tertullian *de idol*., with *RAC* 11.828–895, "Götzendienst"). P.'s novel formulation here puts the emphasis firmly on pagan cult and the finality of the historical process by which Christianity triumphed over the pagan gods. The death of Paganism recalls at a general level *DRN* 1. 79–80, where Lucretius' epic hero, Epicurus, tramples under foot *religio*, understood as false religion. Its opposite, *religio* as proper worship is Late Antique as well (Lactantius *div. inst*. 4.28.11).

21–22 [31] "rising/higher"

The Latin, *altior insurgens*, is an epic phrase used of warriors about to strike, for example, of Turnus as he rises up to strike Aeneas with a boulder (*aen*. 12.902).

22 [30–31] "wallops the enemy's head, her temples decked out with ribbons"

The Latin verb translated as "wallop," *labefactat*, is more appropriate to the undermining of arguments or doctrine (*rhet. ad her*. 220.31, Lucretius *DRN* 1.694) and may be a nod at the role of apologetics, which were Christian writings that undermined pagan ideas. Regarding her head decoration, the Latin can refer to metal or other bangles worn in various contexts, by soldiers as decorations, by women as jewelry, and also by horses (162 [195–96]). The derogatory sense of "decked out" (*falerata*, 22 [30]) is rarely applied to ornate rhetorical speech in classical literature but here is neatly transferred to a head dress. Woolen ribbons were tied at intervals around the headbands worn by priests and priestesses. At *symm*. 2.1095 a Vestal Virgin is distinguished by "the revered trinkets of her ribbons." Here Paganism has on pagan religious *ribbons*, which are worn by priests performing sacrifices or by the sacrificial object itself. This is also the headdress of poets in the Roman tradition who typically were thought to enjoy a divine status (Vergil *aen*. 6.665; Statius *ach*. 1.11).

23 [31–32] "drives her mouth, nourished with the blood of beasts, into the ground"

Almost the same phrase, "drives her mouth . . . into the ground," occurs in the *Aeneid*'s epic heroic duel where the ruthless Messapus finishes off

the Etruscan king, Aulestes (*aen*. 12.303). Here, "nourished with the blood of beasts" continues the imagery of animal sacrifice, culminating with Faith killing Paganism as if she were a pagan sacrificing an animal. Harmony (*Concordia*) uses nearly the same phrase at line 672 [791**]** of a wolf in sheep's clothing as it devours lambs (*Math*. 10:16), i.e. Arius the heretic and his deluded followers. This takes place just after the death of Heresy (*Discordia Heresis*) and just before Faith gives a speech on cleansing blood from the altar of a new temple, the ante-type of Solomon's (*1Kings* 5:2–5)—thus the personification Faith frames the series of seven battles. Old Testament sacrifice of animals (*Ez*. 22:27) transforms into the bird of peace of the new dispensation. Moreover, Vergil uses the phrase to describe animals (*aen*. 9.341; 12.4, of blood-stained mouths of lions), heroic death (*aen*. 10.489), and vice (*aen*. 1. 296). P. is at his most successful when his allusions achieve such a rich density of reference: in this case, the Jewish and Christian traditions, and Roman, Vergilian epic.

24 [32–33] "she treads on her eyes that had popped out."

Typically, a victor might tread on a fallen opponent's face in pagan epic (Silius Italicus, *pun*. 1.388), body or neck in the Hebrew Bible (*Deut*. 33:29, *Josh*. 10:24; cf. *symm*. 1.463); the emphasis on "her eyes that had popped out" (*elisos . . . oculos*) is a macabre, Vergilian variation. The Latin recalls *aen*. 8.260–261, where Hercules squeezes the monstrous Cacus' throat "until his eyes protrude from his head." Paganism is cast here as the violent, sub-human Cacus, decisively defeated by Faith, analogous to the civilizing culture hero, Hercules (Mastrangelo 2008: 35–36; Hardie 2019: 193).

25 "the crushed windpipe in her broken throat closes off her meager breath."

Paganism's "breath" and "soul" are being extinguished. The severity of the violence carried out by Christian virtues against the vices in the poem has provoked confusion (Lewis 1971: 69; Clifford 1974: 28; Lavarenne 1992[2]: 11–12) and debate. Smith (1976: 280–96) sees the ironic use of the Vergilian battle violence; Malamud (1989: 48–54) understands a topos of dismemberment as seen in Claudian *ruf*. 2. 410–20; Paxson (1994: 66–69) argues that the violent scenes represent a dismantling of the trope of prosopopoeia, i.e. personification; and Mastrangelo (2008: 145–55) sees P. applying Epicurean language of the mortal soul to the deaths of vices. See also Rohmann (2003: 248–53).

26 [35] "prolong a hard death."

Juno pities the dead Dido with these words (*difficilem obitum*) at *aen*. 4.694—and the Latin *longus* (here, "prolongs") occurs in both contexts as well. The allusions to the deaths of Cacus and Dido furnish a sobering reminder of the consequence of a life of vice: suffering and death. These

allusions combine with the recollection of the ritually correct Evander, who coins a term for Paganism similar to that of P. "(*veterumque ignara deorum, aen.* 8.185–89)" to confront and pacify pagan religious and literary tradition.

27 [36–37] "The victorious army, leaping for joy, recruited from a thousand martyrs"

The sudden appearance of multitudes in the narrative is biblical, cf. *Lk*. 2:13: "All at once there was with the angel a great company of the heavenly host, singing praise to God;" *Dan*. 7:10; "Thousands upon thousands served him and myriads upon myriads were in attendance" (in Daniel's vision). The presence of the martyrs emphasizes the historical point of view (Smith 1976: 285; Smolak 1992: 137 sees the battle of *Frigidus* in 394 and Theodosian anti-pagan laws). Faith and 1,000 martyrs hearken back to the Christian heroic age of the persecutions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Hardie 2019: 193). Some critics have seen this first battle and the last as reflecting a more general ecclesiological and historical moment because the Church was concerned with heresies (Gnilka 2000: vol. 2: 67–68; Pollman 2001: 106–09).

In addition, P. sees no contradiction in combining the triumph of Christianity with the military and political success of the Roman Empire. The Latin, *exultat* (literally, the legion "leapt for joy"), "refers as often to a demeanor of confident aggression" (Harrison 1991: 265). Standing on or over a conquered opponent and celebrating the victory is a standard scene in epic (e.g. Vergil *aen*. 9.634–35; 10.557–60, 592–94, 811–13; Statius *theb*. 8.472–73, 9.137–3, 9. 544–46). However, *exulto* is common in patristic literature and poetry, meaning to exult in praising God, his word, etc. (e.g. Ambrose *expl. ps*. 21.10; Paulinus of Nola *ep*. 42.1). P.'s use of the verb expresses simultaneously a pagan-epic and ecclesiastical resonance, organically blending Roman and Christian thought-worlds.

28 [37] "Queen Faith."

Faith is preeminent of all virtues, as elsewhere in his corpus, P. emphasizes Faith's superior status among the virtues: *apoth. praef*. 32 and *cath*. 1.60, where the idea of constant belief is paramount and simple; and *cath*. 3.15, where Faith sanctifies everything. Faith is mentioned in Moderation's speech, reproaching her troops (305 [365]) for coming under the spell of Luxury (*Luxuria*) and giving up the fight. Consistent with her lack of exterior protective covering seen at the beginning of the poem, at lines 305–307 [365–66] she has woven an impenetrable covering for the heart (*inpenetrabile tegmen pectoribius*). Later, Prudentius refers to her as "Faith, queen of the Virtues" (*virtutum regina Fides*, 609 [716]) who silences Heresy with a spear to the throat. Faith gives a speech at the side of Harmony (*Concordia*, lines 679–99 [799–821]) to announce the building of the new temple. At the end of the poem, through the selling off of her possessions, she furnishes the

space for Wisdom to be enthroned (*psych*. 743–44 [872–74]). In these passages Faith is manifest as first among the virtues, the protector of the soul, the true faith of the Church, and the foundation of wisdom.

28–29 [38] "she crowns her brave comrades/with flowers."

Roman soldiers received various kinds of wreaths (*coronae*), though not the kind made of flowers, as rewards for and symbols of victory (Gellius *NA 5.6*, *New Pauly*, "Decorations, military"), the greatest of which, the gold *corona triumphalis*, was worn by the triumphing general. It was the Roman soldiers who gave Jesus his *corona* of thorns, mocking his "triumph" in crucifixion. Early Christian authors inverted the symbolism of the *corona* to serve their own purposes, so that Jesus' crucifixion was depicted as his triumph. Cyprian of Carthage draws the contrast: "he (Jesus) was crowned with thorns who crowned the martyrs with eternal flowers" (*bono pat*. 7). Through Prudentius' depiction of the unadorned Faith and the inclusion of the historical figures of the martyrs, the Christian inversion of strength and weakness undermines and transforms the epic, Vergilian motif of strength and glory (Mastrangelo 2008: 57, 99–105).

29 [39] "flaming purple."

P. seems to have in mind the purple *toga trabeata* of a triumphing Roman general. The deep purplish color also appears in P. in relation to clothes and gems (732 [859]), and for Christians, in relation to divinity (Paulinus of Nola, *ep*. 23.28).

30–87 [40–108] Second battle: Chastity vs. Lust

Parallel to the battle between Faith and Paganism, P. describes the actual combat between Chastity and Lust in similar way (e.g. a vice's soul/breath is trapped or exhaled through the throat) and with a similar length (14 and 12 lines respectively). However, in a significant expansion of this battle, the poet adds four more parts to the overall structure: first, the Old Testament typology of Judith and Holofernes in which the chaste Israelite queen plays a seducer in order to murder an Assyrian king (43–52); second, the Christian exegesis of the story in which Judith indicates Mary, the virgin mother of Christ (53–67); third, trash-talking based on the idea that sex corrupts the body and the soul (68–77); and fourth, an elaborate scene of purification of Chastity's sword, the killing weapon, in which the Christian sacrament of baptism is the allegorical meaning (78–87).

The expansion serves to extend the typologies of Judith/Chastity and Holofernes/Lust to New Testament figures like Mary and Christ, as well as to the reader who "reads" himself into the typology as either living a continent or sexually profligate life. In achieving this expansion, P. portrays

Chastity as placing reason and law at the center of human life (Van Dyke 1985: 48). She draws a clear distinction between old Mosaic law and new Christian law through the interpretation of the figure of Judith, who allegorically expresses Mary's immaculate birth of Christ, as well as the purification of the soul through baptism.

Moreover, this typological allegory and exegesis trades on the notion that universals are transcendent realities designated by abstract nouns, which in turn indicate particular, real things. Judith and Holofernes are the particularized, historical, and physical agents who nonetheless maintain their status as universals. Van Dyke (1985: 38) calls this a form of philosophical realism in which universal concepts become particularized as poetic characters. In order to interpret these characters and narrative properly, the reader oscillates between the universal and the particular. The concept of Chastity becomes a biblical character who in turn has the potential to become the reader who reflects on the concept. The decision and action of Judith is a prototypical act of free will, a model of sexual and religious agency that makes a direct impression on the reader (Mastrangelo 2010a: 163–68).

30 [41] "Chastity"

For the Latin, *Pudicitia*. Prudentius personifies the concept, a tradition going back to Livy (*ab urbe condita* 10.23.5). The late 4th-century court poet, Claudian, adopts the pagan personification of *Pudicitia* as a goddess, comparing her to Proba, a Christian noble wife of a consul he is praising (*p&o* 195). The quality of chastity or sexual modesty was often applied to the wives and daughters of Roman patricians. Church fathers like Tertullian and Augustine were obsessed with the virtue, appropriating the pagan concept as a placeholder for Mary's immaculate status, Christian women's abstinence, and even their own sexual self-definition. While the Christian poets, P. and Paulinus, also appropriate the pagan concept for Christian use, they do not use the term nearly as often. On the one hand, P.'s Judith prioritizes virginity and abstinence, which miraculously led to the birth of Christ. From Christ's immaculate birth status, P. goes on to reflect on the nature of Christ and his relationship to the Father. On the other hand, P. is acknowledging a tradition of interpretation beginning with the Church Father, Ambrose, who argues that the desire to preserve one's chastity must be instrumental and not an end in itself. On this view, Judith's preservation of her chastity is for the sake of her religion (Ambrose, *de virg*. 2.4.24; *de vid*. 7; see also Jerome, *ep*. 79.10, in which Judith is a type for the Church itself, which decapitates the devil). The two sides of the interpretation point to an unresolved question of how ascetic one has to be to practice true Christianity.

31 [42] "The Sodomite Lust"

For the Latin, *Sodomita Libido*. Here the sense of sexual pleasure is clear. In general, for Christians, *Libido* is associated with pleasures of the body, including the excessive desire for food, drink, material things, but the desire for sex overtakes other meanings. In this passage, P. constructs a semantic field with words like "whore" and "prostitute" (34, 36, 72) and their opposites "virginal" and "virgin" (30, 33, 52) in order to highlight the struggle in the soul between sexual activity and abstinence. P. also describes Lust in animalistic terms (Latin *lupa*, "she-wolf") and with terms like "filthy" (37; Latin *caenoso*) and "dirty" (68; Latin *lutulenta*; see also *pe*. 2.247, where lust is described the same way). For early Christians, the basic meaning of *caenosus* and *lutulentus*, "muddy," implied sin; and in addition, animals who lived in the mud like pigs and toads took on the idea of sin and immodesty in Christian imagery (Prosperi 2000: 106). P.'s descriptive language and characterization of the personification, Lust, furnish a good example of Early Christianity's negative attitude toward sex and, in particular, women's sexuality.

37–38 [50–52] "vomits up her hot breath, clotted with filthy blood . . . her . . . breath poisons the . . . air"

This is another example of graphic language of violence and gore that Prudentius trades in throughout the poem. Here the vice exhales an ugly gas at the moment of death, expelling her life-force into the atmosphere. P. favors "breath" as referring to the soul or life force. *Apoth*. 782–857 discusses the nature of the soul and focuses on the diverse meanings of *vapores* (whistling, warm breath, cool breath), which empirically indicate, at least to the poet, that the soul or breath is created by God within a person. At *DRN* 5.236, Lucretius mentions how "hot steam" (*calidi vapores*; note Prudentius' *calidos vapores* here), as an example of the material elements of the earth, is created and destroyed over the course of time. For P., the souls of vices (or bad people) are not only created, but they die or are destroyed after death. Perhaps here vapor refers to sexual lust (Seneca *Phaedra* 640), which fits with the personification, Lust.

39 [53] "It's finished!"

For the Latin *hoc habet*, which is a formulaic expression used when a gladiator delivered a decisive blow (*aen*. 12.296). Peltarri (2019: 107) traces the meaning through the 4th-century grammarian Donatus, who links the phrase to gladiators in his note on Terence *an*. 83. With Peltarri the translation assumes *hoc habet* as the equivalent of *peractum est*, as suggested by the late 4th- and early 5th-century grammarian Servius Danielis.

41–42 [56–57] "both men and women, whose . . ./chaste soul only burns through Christ's torch"

Perhaps the most significant change to gender relations in the early Christian era is the notion that chastity should be practiced by both women *and* men. Consequently, adultery was no longer sanctioned for Roman men as it was in the pagan era, at least according to the teachings of the Church (Brown 1988: 145–50, 416–18). This battle begins with Lust thrusting into Chastity's face a "sulfur-burning pine torch" (32, 35), which the Virtue then parries. As the Vice lay dying, Chastity proclaims that it is "Christ's torch" that causes the soul to burn, not the torch of lust. With this reversal of the image, P. conjures up the motif of Christ as the bridegroom (*Mt*. 25:1–13), in which the bridesmaid (the Christian or Christian soul) receives the groom (Christ) with a torch-lamp, filled with oil (*lampade*: cf. Jerome *adv. pelag*. 2.11)—half-filled torch-lamps are held by those bridesmaids who are not ready to marry (receive) Christ. P. rejects human, carnal passion, even when understood in terms of marital love, and he reconstitutes it into love of God. In the *Confessions*, the character of Augustine undergoes a parallel process, evolving from a sex-obsessed Roman male to a passionate lover of God.

45 [62] "resolute Judith"

P. uses the Latin adjective *aspera*, translated here as "resolute." Vergil calls Camilla, the great virgin warrioress, *aspera virgo* (*aen*. 11.644); Seneca refers to Diana, the virgin huntress goddess, in the same way (*med*. 97); and Statius uses the word to describe the fury Tisiphone (*theb*. 9.166). P. associates Judith with the steadfast abstinence and violent tendencies of these epic female figures.

49–50 [66–67] "a woman fighting under the shadow of the law . . . prefigures our times"

The thought sums up a typical use of Old Testament stories in the *Psychomachia*: Christ's story of incarnation, birth, and resurrection is the allegorical (and hidden) meaning of the Judith and Holofernes narrative, the antiquity of which proves Christianity's ancient heritage and, consequently, contemporary reality. Prudentius highlights Judith and her actions, namely that a particular woman at this moment was able to act as others before her could not. It took great courage to act so decisively under the old law. Yet the poet quickly points out that Judith represents the powerless, through whom divine power now flows, a massive shift in how the world is to be conceived.

49 [66–67] "The shadow of the law"

Employing this phrase, St. Paul argues that embedded in Mosaic law is a transparent picture of Christian reality. The old law contains the shadow of good things to come (*Hebrews* 10:1) and reflects Christian law: "meat . . . drink . . . holy day . . . new moon . . . or of the sabbath days, which are the shadow of things to come" (*Col*. 2:16–17). The Latin for "shadow," *umbra*,

has a pejorative sense in that it is Christian law, not Hebrew law, which is eternal and the foundation of Salvation History. This idea (*sub umbra legis*, "under the shadow of the law,") is common among P.'s fellow Christian thinkers and poets (Ambrose, *in luc*. 7; *expl. ps*. 108.3.19; Paulinus of Nola, *carm*. 17.310).

50 [67] "prefigures our times"

See note on *Preface* 36–37 on the noun *figura* and figural or typological reading. Only here does P. use the Latin verb *figurat* ("prefigures")—Augustine uses the synonym, *adumbro*, at *civ*. 17.6. Both pagan and Christian authors use the verb, but P.'s use is the most directly typological, invoking the near repetitions of events that occur in the past, present, and future, a pattern that points to a Christian historical meaning and historiography.

51 [68] "true power"

For the Latin, *vera virtus*. For many Roman pagan authors, *virtus* is "manliness," "courage," or the actions expressing such qualities—early Christian writers adapt this usage to refer to the power to do miracles (Souter 1949: 444). In philosophical works, *virtus* becomes "moral perfection" or "virtue." Biblical texts and the works of Christian authors often use *virtus* to mean "force" or "power" (*Lk*. 1:35; Tertullian, *adv*. *prax*. 26.6). Here the sense is qualified by "true" (*vera*) to imply doctrine or the proper conception of the flesh (body/soul). Lavarenne (1992[2]) sees the power of grace here (see Augustine *serm*. 304, *PL* 38, column 1397, line 25: "He gives to us, then, the true power, which disperses grace into our bodies," *ille ergo dat nobis veram virtutem, qui diffundit in nostris cordibus charitatem*).

54 [73] "new flesh"

Early Christian writers like P. and Augustine begin to refer to the pre- and postlapsarian body and soul as "flesh." This is understood as the unfortunate status of the body/soul at the inflection points of Salvation History. After the Fall of Adam and Eve all humans carry Original Sin with their bodies and their souls, and they are not just subject to the desires of the body but to "the whole of human nature" (Augustine, *civ*. 14. 2). However, with the birth of Christ, the flesh (i.e. body and soul as the whole of human nature) is renewed with the opportunity to become pure and to live with God.

58–59 [78–79] "The Word made flesh does not cease/to be what it had been"

Jn. 1:14: "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us" (*et verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis*); also, 2*Pet*. 1:4 where humans can share in the divine nature; and *Eph*. 4:22–24 where humans acquire a new nature, "put on the new man." P.'s line forms the theological center of a digression-like passage (lines 52–67) in which Chastity gives the orthodox view of the nature of Christ, the Father, and human beings. Here

P. makes it clear that post-incarnation humans have changed because they have the opportunity to partake in the divine nature. However, "the Word made flesh," i.e. Christ, along with the Father remain as they always have been and will continue to be purely divine. The nature of the Trinity and its relation to humans furnishes opportunities for debate and rebellion right up to the Protestant Reformation. Although by the end of the 4th century Christian orthodoxy had won the day, Arianism (the heretical doctrine that Christ was created at a point in time and had not always existed with the Father and the Holy Spirit) and other heresies remained entrenched in parts of the empire. In passages like these, P. is reflecting the concern of the early Church.

61–62 [82–83] "It stays as it/always was, though beginning to be what it was not"

P. and early Christian theologians delight in highlighting paradoxes and propositions that contain contrary ideas: for example, the birth of Christ from a virgin; God becoming human; and fallen humanity resurrected for eternal life. The substance of the Word (*verbum*/λὸγος) does not change in the flesh but remains as it was, taking the form of the servant. P. as a Christian poet appears to accept the analogy that just as the incarnated word does not forfeit its divine nature, so too does human speech not lose its spiritual character (Prosperi 2000: 107), so that poetry—like scripture—is capable of expressing divine, revelatory truth.

62–63 [83–84] "We have grown into a/better condition by being born"

A remarkable statement, considering that Graeco-Roman intellectual thought holds that when a divine or a superior entity has contact with the inferior thing, it is compromised and lessened. Lucretius succinctly states this position at *DRN* 5.322–23, using the same verb (*auget*, "grows") as P. No longer does the curse of Original Sin make life's prospects bleak and fatalistic. Moreover, no longer does one's station in Graeco-Roman society matter. The Hebrew and Pagan traditions are summarily dismissed through the doctrine of new flesh, which even if it does not bring rewards in this life, implies an eternal, blessed life.

70–75 [89–96] "You . . . sink our souls into hell. . . . Be shut up in hell. . . . Greatest of the Furies"

Chastity's vivid descriptions of hell ("gate of death . . . road to perdition . . . bitter abyss . . . dark night . . . flaming waters . . . black waves and sulfurous whirlpool") originate in both pagan and biblical traditions. P. recalls *aen*. 6.604–07, where Aeneas tours pagan Tartarus (hell). In the Vergil passage, the Sybil mentions the two largest groups of sinners: those who commit treason, and adulterers (*aen*. 6.611–13). The images of flaming lakes, sulphurous gases, pestilence, darkness, and destruction can be found at *Rev*. 14:10, 19:20,

20:10; *Is*. 44:9 and 91:5–6. For most early Christians, hell is a place of final and eternal punishment, but certain Patristic writers like Origen and Clement held out the possibility for redemption and purification of the soul, to which Augustine saw fit to contradict (*civ*. 21:9–18 and Ferguson et al. 2010: 516–18). P. and this tradition form the foundation of Dante's vision of hell. Chastity addresses Lust as "Greatest of the Furies" (same phrase at *aen*. 3.252 and 6.605), which is part of an allusion to Vergil's fury, Allecto, who returns to the underworld. Hardie (2019: 197–99) and note 31 see the figure of the fury and Allecto in particular as a "way to erase the boundary between person and personification" (199). P.'s Vices (and to some extent, Virtues) constantly move back and forth between predominantly allegorical entities and "fully human characters in the classical epic tradition" (Hardie 2019: 198).

70 [89] "gate of death"

For the Latin *ianua leti*, which fits squarely in the epic tradition as a phrase for the entrance into the underworld (e.g. Lucretius, *DRN* 1.112; Vergil, *aen*. 2.660–1; Ovid, *met*. 1.662; and Statius *theb*. 3.68). The phrase also functions here to highlight Mary's status as the "gate of heaven" (*ianua caeli*). In a brash twist, Lucretius uses the phrase to indicate the place where one's atoms disperse, not where one enters eternal life. Lucretius' point is that there is nothing to be afraid of after death because the particles that constitute the body and the soul disperse, dissolving memory, feeling, and thought.

81–83 [99–103] "purified the triumphant sword in the holy river . . . a baptism of sorts."

Chastity cleanses her bloody sword in the Jordan River and puts it by a divine spring in a Christian temple (78–87). The sword glitters with "eternal light." The reference to baptism allegorically suggests the purification of body and soul, first through the elimination of lust (and sex), and second, through a commitment to the Christian Church. The meaning of the cleansing of the sword takes its cue from Judith's story and implies an interpretation of the substance and nature of the soul and the Trinity. Chastity is the virtue, the concept, that connects the narrative and exegetical levels of meaning: it "is figured [in Judith] and refigured in the poetic personification of Chastity, the incarnation of Christ, and the purity of the reader's soul" (Mastrangelo 2010a: 155).

88–145 [109–77] Third battle: Patience (*Patientia*) vs. Anger (*Ira*)

The purpose, length, and structure of this battle is similar to the previous one. Like Judith, the Old Testament figure of Job typologically corresponds to a virtue, in this case, Patience, who in turn implies the reader. The soul's

inner struggle is not merely a moral or theological question, but it is grounded in an (allegorical) interpretation of universal Salvation History that features the inner life of the person as the main actor. On P.'s view, the soul's history indicates the possibility for each person to achieve immortal life. Job's story of suffering and faith is not merely an exemplar to be imitated, but when properly absorbed as knowledge by each person, it forms the identity of a soul.

What is also striking is the vividness of this section. Both Patience and Anger are characterized cinematically, as if two gunfighters in a showdown (88–96). Having built up the anticipation, P. commences the fight, with Anger on the attack but unable to penetrate Patience's armor (97–105). Furious that Patience is invulnerable, Anger then self-destructs, first failing to kill herself, but then succeeding by falling on her own spear (105–125). Then, rather than vaunting over her defeated foe, Patience addresses the reader, referring to Anger in the third person and explaining that Christian law requires pacifism (125–30). In the final section (131–45), P. portrays Patience walking through the battle lines, unharmed and unaffected, with Job, whose story of nearly endless suffering gives a starkly human translation of the concept of Patience. P. cleverly undercuts the visual and emotional buildup as Patience does not even lift a finger to gain victory. In fact, one aspect of the poem's originality that this scene suggests is the tension between P.'s epic, Vergilian portrayal of the battle and Christian passivity and humility. This tension is endemic to every virtue/vice battle in the poem since Patience "is the associate and guardian of all virtues" (142).

89–91 [109–12] "gentle Patience . . . serious and unmoved . . . her eyes fixed on the scene . . . calm"

The portrayal of Patience (*Patientia*) as a personification takes its cue from pagan literature. For instance, the Latin for "eyes fixed on the scene" (*defixa oculos*) is a near imitation of Vergil, *aen*. 6.156 (*defixus lumina*) and is said of Aeneas after he has heard the Sibyl lay out his difficult journey through the underworld. The phrase for Aeneas reflects his sadness and foreboding, a state of mind P. may be alluding to here as Patience sees the carnage of the battlefield. In addition, Cicero associates the Latin for "calm" (*lenta*) with patience (*orat*. 2.69).

91 [113] "Anger, swelling, hysterical,/frothing at the mouth"

Prudentius portrays the personification of Anger as insane, engaged in futility, and self-destructive. These characteristics are infused throughout the battle and its aftermath. The Latin for "frothing at the mouth" (*spumanti rictu*) is used of a lioness by Ovid at *met*. 4.98. Here P. achieves the further sense of insanity or madness through the association of Anger with animals.

In fact, at line 129, P. refers to Anger as "Madness" (*Vesania*), cementing the connection between Anger and self-destructive insanity.

95–96 [117] "the plumed crest/of her helmet shaking"

Similar descriptions are used of Mezentius and Aeneas (*aen*. 10.869 and 12.483). Throughout this battle, P. recalls the language of epic warfare in the *Aeneid*. Some other examples: a spear flying through the "pliant" air (100 [122], *crispata*, cf. *aen*. 1.313, 12.165); a spear "repelled" by a breast-plate or shield (102 [124], *excussa*, cf. *aen*. 10.777); a "triple-threaded, adamant-woven breast-plate" (103 [125–26], *conserto adamante trilicem/ . . . thoraca*, cf. *aen*. 3.467); "grabs" her sword (111 [138], *conisa*, cf. *aen*. 10.127); a sword "strikes Patience's head dead on" (113 [139], *mediumque ferit . . . cerebrum*, cf. *aen*. 9.419); her helmet of "forged" metal (114 [140], *cocto*, cf. *aen*. 11.553); "assault" (116 [144] *adsultus*, cf. *aen*. 5.441); the broken "fragments" of Anger's sword (117 [145] *fragmina*, cf. *aen*. 10.306); Patience "cut a path through the middle of her comrades" (131 [162] *secat medias . . . cohortes*, cf. *aen*. 10.440). The overall effect is violent and heroic, in line with the epic tradition of the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*. Linguistic references to the biblical and patristic traditions are sparse if present at all.

102–103 [125–26] "protected/her body with a triple-threaded, adamant-woven breast-plate"

In contrast to the Faith, Patience is fully protected by armor. Her effectiveness derives not from using her own weapons, but from her imperviousness to external harm. Through the emphasis on armor in this section, P. continues to develop the idea that a virtue, and by extension the Christian soul, cannot be completely penetrated or invaded by vice. The concrete description of impenetrable armor, constructed from Vergilian epic battle language, becomes a metaphor for the soul full of Christian virtues (see Peltarri 2019: 118 on Seneca *de ira* 3.5.8 where the ideal mind is described as "free from anger and impenetrable").

109–11 [134–36] "spears that had fallen in vain,/a fruitless flight . . . emblems/of futility"

The futility of Anger is represented in the repeated failure of her weapons in battle. She cannot get what she wants, i.e. the demise of Patience, and immediately she is overcome with her own fury.

120 [148–49] "ivory hilt, a faithless emblem of both honor and shame"

Although Anger's sword has been "faithless" by not killing Patience, the phrase indicates that the sword and hilt are neutral in themselves and can be employed for either an honorable dishonorable cause.

122 [150] "frantically ignites her own demise"

In Graeco-Roman thought, Anger turns inward to destroy a person. Plato's tyrant and democrat in Book 9 of the *Republic* possess never-ending

desires that lead to self-destructive fury (*rep*. 573, 579). Cicero *tusc*. 4.23.52 discusses folly and anger's self-destructive characters. Seneca *de ira* 2.36 shows the deadly transition from anger to madness (*nulla celerior ad insaniam via est*, "There is no quicker path to insanity"). P. repeats this thought, "madness itself is its own enemy . . . fiery anger murders herself" (*ipsa sibi est hostis vesania seque . . . interimit*, lines 129–30 [160–61]). Anger in her defeat and other images of virtues and vices were transmitted to medieval Europe, beginning with the illustrated manuscripts of P., the archetype of which was created in the 5th century, close to the publication of the poem. In France and Italy, many medieval churches with frescoes of the parade of vices represent anger as a man with a sword or dagger in his chest (Prosperi 2000: 109–110). In the regions of Saintonge and Poitou in France, several Romanesque churches depict warrior virtues trampling their defeated foes, including St. Gilles, Argenton-le-chateau (1135), and St. Pierre Aulnay (1140), which portray Patience and Anger among six pairs of Prudentian virtues standing over defeated vices. By the 13th century, the *Psychomachia*'s triumphal imagery of virtues over vices recedes and is replaced by images like those at Notre Dame in Paris (1210) where, on the west facade of the cathedral, 12 virtues and 12 apostles are part of a scene of the Last Judgement. Virtues become integrated within major Christian doctrines like the Last Judgement.

132–40 [163–71] "she was accompanied by the distinguished Job"

The *Book of Job*, which is a theological argument in poetry, confronts the intractable problem of the suffering of the just and the anguish it produces (Alter 2019: vol. 3: 457, 460). P. works from *Job* 42, the conclusion of the book in which God finally restores Job to a good life after unspeakable suffering, indicated at line 135 ("healed sores"), which refers to *Job* 2.7–8 where he was afflicted with leprosy. In this section of the poem, Job is an Old Testament character like Abraham (Faith), Adam (Arrogance), and David (Hope) who pairs up with a personification that reflects his dominant narrative quality, Patience, with a view to clarifying the suffering and choices embedded in every person's inner life (Mastrangelo 2008: 99–100).

135 "With an unhinged look, he laughs at his healed sores"

The Latin for "unhinged" (*truci*) is usually translated by words close to the meaning of "severe" or "savage." P. uses the adjective for lions and attacking birds (*cath*. 4.86; *ham*. 219; and *pe*. 5. 403; and *cath*. 3. 161), persecutors and torturers (*pe*. 2. 357, 6.32, 10.71, 10. 817, 14.21, 14.67), and other similar contexts (*symm. praef*. 45, *symm*. 1. 406, *symm*. 2. 297)—in other words, in clearly a hostile and negative sense. Given that Job is laughing at his closed wounds, "savage" and the like seem incongruous. After all his extreme physical and psychological suffering, Job has become

mentally imbalanced, perhaps even mad, hence "unhinged." He instantiates an unhealthy psychological state that results when a person must exhibit too much patience. P. points out what readers have long understood: that the character of Job, like other exceptional Old Testament characters, is extreme and perhaps impossible to imitate—though he remains the archetype for obedience to God no matter what fortune might bring.

146–260 [178–309] Fourth battle: Arrogance (*Superbia*) vs. Lowliness (*Mens Humilis*) (and Hope/*Spes*)

P. expands this battle scene by describing Arrogance in vivid detail and paints a picture of a magnificent but inflated epic hero (146–62). As some epic heroes have been known to do (e.g. Agamemnon and Achilles in the *Iliad*; see the speech of Numanus Remulus at *aen*. 9.598–620 with Hardie 2019: 199), she mocks and denigrates her enemy, in this case, Lowliness and her sidekick, Hope (179–212). After her speech, she and her horse fall headlong into a ditch concealed by the vice, Deceit, and, like Anger earlier in the poem, she self-destructs (213–32). Finally, Hope arrives on the scene and does what Lowliness could not do, behead Arrogance, boast over her carcass, and then ascend to heaven (233–60).

The first three battles have been brief (14, 57, and 57 lines) and straightforward in their narrative structure. For the next four battles, P. will expand, vary, and complicate the fundamental poetic combat between virtues and vices. P. expands this battle scene (114 lines), in two ways: 1) developing further the character of Arrogance through extended description and a lengthy speech; and 2) adding Hope and Deceit to the martial mix, both of whom have decisive roles in Arrogance's death. Arrogance speaks as if she were Rome herself and the ruler of the soul, resisting revolution and spouting an exaggerated version of traditional Roman values (Nugent 1985: 38), which will be overthrown by Lowliness. The death of Arrogance has a leveling effect by signaling the elimination of hierarchical oppositions established in her speech: noble/plebeian, citizen/foreigner, rulers/exiles, and even church/state. The "extra" characters, Deceit and Hope, perform distinct functions, the former again showing how vices destroy themselves and the latter having an apotheosis that may suggest the pagan goddess, Victory, and the late 4th-century controversy on whether to keep her winged statue in the Roman Senate House (Shanzer 1989 and Peltarri 2019: 142).

146 [178] "imperious Arrogance"

The Latin for "imperious," *inflata* (literally, "puffed up") exemplifies what Cicero referred to as an *inflatus et tumens animus* ("a puffed up and

swollen soul," *tusc*. 3.9). Implicit in this epithet from philosophical discourse is the idea of overreaching, which is immediately reinforced by visual descriptors of her manner, "flitted about" (146), and her appearance, "hair . . . a towering beehive" (151).

147 [179–80] "Lion skin covered its back, and fur weighed down its potent forequarters"

In the Middle Ages, the lion was the traditional and allegorical emblem of the personification, Arrogance (Dante, *inf*. 1.46–48; Compare Ambrose, *hex*. 4.4: *leo naturae suae ferocia superbus aliarum ferarum quasi res consortia dedignatur*). 1*Peter* 5:8 compares the devil to a roaring lion seeking prey to devour.

151 [183–84] "styled firmly into a towering beehive"

Continuing the description of Arrogance, P. recalls a common hairstyle for aristocratic women of the 4th century, as evidenced by sculptural depictions. Jerome describes a similar style: *alienis capillis turritum verticem struere* ("piles up a towering crown of exotic hair," *ep*. 130.7; see also Paulinus of Nola, *carm*. 25.85).

152–53 [186–87] "A bunched linen shawl"

In the *Aeneid*, a similar garment was worn by a former priest of Cybele, Chloreus, who was being pursued in battle by the magnificent warrioress, Camilla (*aen*. 11.776). The key Latin word, *carbesea*, has the sense of "fine linen" that might come from the East, which, for the Romans, was a source of personal and social decadence.

154 [188] "From her neck, a scarf, made of soft material"

The Latin word *limbus* has the sense of "hem" or "edge," but here it is a band of material, i.e. a scarf. Throughout this passage, P. channels epic and aristocratic imagery to build a vivid picture of his personifications.

160 [194] "virago"

The English homophone for the Latin has the accompanying pejorative sense of harsh or cruel. The Latin word refers to a war-like or vigorous heroine. It is applied to the pagan goddesses, Minerva, Diana, and Juturna (Ovid *met*. 2.765, Seneca *phaedra* 54, and *aen*. 12.468), and the Amazons, mythic female warriors (Lactantius *inst*. 1.9.2). See also Claudian *rapt*. 2.63–4 and Dracontius *rom*. 10.12, 62, 252. In the Vulgate Latin Bible, Jerome uses *virago* of Eve (*Genesis* 2:23), thereby pointing to the word's association with the transgression of female gender roles. This attitude is implicit in Lavarenne's translation of the Latin *ventosa* as "vain" (translated here as "puffed up").

164 [199] "Lowliness"

For the Latin *Mens Humilis*, which can scan in a hexameter unlike *Humilitas*. P. Christianizes pagan terminology, adding the adjective *humilis*

to the Roman deity *Mens*, an addition that reflects Roman (and Greek) practice of adding cult titles or by-names to deities so that they might be worshipped under a specific function (Haworth 1980: 58–60). Other early Christian writers also use *humilis* or *humilitas* in a similar sense (Lactantius *inst*. 5.15 and Sulpicius Severus *vit. mart*. 2). Pagan meanings of this word group focus on lowness of stature, influence, or meanness of spirit. Early Christian writers oppose *humilitas* to *superbia* ("pride," Paulinus of Nola *ep*. 28.6, 8), a "degradation of the soul" (*animi deiectio est*, Marius Victorinus, *in Eph* 4:2 1271B; see *TLL* 6.3.3118.48–49). The Christian concept of *humilitas* is connected to ideas of submission, penitence, faith, and patience (*TLL* 6.3.3119.5, 14–15). Line 243 [290] opposes the "lowly" to the "headstrong" (*humiles* to *feroces*; see note). Augustine at *conf*. 7.18.24 says "To possess my God, the humble Jesus, I was not yet humble enough. I did not know what his weakness was meant to teach." Peter White (2019: 213) comments: "Because the pride and disobedience of Adam and Eve had turned the human race away from God, . . . it was necessary for the Word incarnated as Christ to descend to the human level and set an example for humility and love to which men and women might turn back."

166 [202] "Hope, whose power sits high up, rising from the ground to lush heaven"

As an ally of Lowliness and Christ, Hope stands for a desire for the riches of paradise rather than for worldly prosperity. She is the quality of the soul that along with Faith allows the low to become high. The Latin for "the ground," *humo*, plays on *humilis*. Because she is future-oriented, Hope recalls the "poorly armed" army of the virtues who will become immortal, and she looks ahead to "lush heaven" (*opulentia divite regno*). So, it is fitting that at the end of this battle, Hope ascends to heaven on her own power. The goddess Hope is common in Roman pagan thought and society, having several temples in the city and a feast, celebrated at the beginning of August.

169 [205] "she bursts into a flurry of bitter words"

This part of Arrogance's speech takes the meaning of "lowliness" to be lowness of rank, class, and stature (see note on line 164). Hence, she draws sharp oppositions between the "common soldier" vs. "renowned leaders," and the "penniless foreigner" vs. "ancient kings." Moreover, Arrogance's words assume a literary world of heroic epic of single combat between two noble warriors—even her rhetoric recalls that of Turnus in the *Aeneid* as he insults his Trojan foes who will ultimately defeat him ("isn't it a disgrace," *non pudet*, *aen*. 9.598; "look at them," *en qui nostra*, *aen*. 9.600). As an aristocratic member of an "honored race" with "warlike virtues," she expects that her foes will be cut from the same cloth and that the ensuing battle will

reflect the victor's martial nobility. Arrogance is caught up in a world gone by, without an understanding of the new world of Christian humility, nor a grasp of a new Christian literary world, which has rejected traditional, epic poetics that she espouses.

179–80 [216–17] "we embrace/the entire person at the moment of birth"

Arrogance argues that: 1) she was present at the Fall of mankind in the *Genesis* story; and therefore, 2) the vice of pride (*hubris*) is inborn to every human being. The argument gains its power from vivid phrases that locate arrogance in "warm limbs/fresh from the womb," "throughout a newborn's limbs," or as "masters of tender bones." Seneca, the influential stoic philosopher, uses similar language about how the gods infused humans with life at the moment of birth or creation (*de sen*. 21). Arrogance employs the cradle argument, i.e. we can understand human behavior and nature by studying infants, so that she is as natural a quality in a human being as hunger.

183–84 [221–22] "when our kingdoms simultaneously/grew with equal power"

Arrogance distinguishes between the virtues' realm of the soul and the vices realm of the flesh/body. The Fall enshrined the domain of the body as the sphere of Arrogance and the rest of the vices. Adam felt the need for clothes because Arrogance the vice was now in control of the body, expressed as the pursuit of pleasure. Specifically, when Adam and Eve were cast out of paradise, their "put[ting] on animal skins for clothes" represents the repression of the sexual body and its desires, the loss of innocence, and the existence of a new reality, mortality (Brown 1988: 92–96; see 399–408 for Augustine's more nuanced view that Adam and Eve were physical beings whose wills betrayed them, not their bodies). For Arrogance, these represent steps toward human civilization, a positive development. The expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise counts as a victory, not a disaster for the human race: "he would have been naked, had he not followed/our rules" (lines 188–89 [227]). The Latin for "naked," *nudus*, has the frequent meaning of "deprived" or "destitute" as it does at line 174 ("penniless"). Adam left paradise, a closed and restricted space, for an open and infinite one, "the wide world." While P. is not endorsing this point of view, he makes Arrogance a more compelling figure by constructing her appearance and thoughts as promoting the life of the body and of the material world.

187 [226] "august Adam"

For the Latin, *venerabilis Adam*. Adam is the "new creature" (*plasma novum*) that describes humans after the Fall. Despite the obvious blame that Adam appears to deserve for the Fall, patristic exegesis and literature view him as a respected patriarch. At *TH* 1.3, P. reflects the bias and misogyny

of the interpretive tradition regarding Eve (*tinxit et innocuum maculis sordentibus Adam*, "she smeared the innocent Adam with foul stains"). Arrogance uses the epithet, "august," ironically and consequently appears to undercut Adam's lack of culpability; typologies that relate Christ and Adam are common in early and medieval Christian literature (*apoth*. 1006–09; Jerome, *adv. iov*. 1.37; Cassiodorus *exp. ad rom*. 5; Sulpicius Severus *dial*. 2.10.3) and take their cue from Paul, *Rom*. 5:14. At *apoth*. 926, P. extends this typology to every human being who needs to shed the old, fallen, Adam.

191 [229] "irritating, ineffective, miserable, degenerate, foolish"

P.'s fondness for adjective lists (see also *ham*. 395–97) has been criticized by critics up to the present day, including Lavarenne (1933: 19) ("disconcerting verbosity") and Prosperi (2000: 112), who calls it a common defect of the authors of the period.

195–96 [233–34] "shiftless comforts flatter their feeble idleness"

Arrogance expresses her spite for laziness and passivity, which she sees as causes of pathetic hopes for material security and, ultimately, poverty. Arrogance is a creature of the real world with surprisingly modern attitudes!

197–99 [235–37] "These raw recruits whom Bellona does not inspire . . . their lukewarm courage . . . their unwarlike spirits"

Bellona is an ancient Italic goddess of war, sister of Mars, described at Vergil, *aen*. 8.703 and Statius, *silv*. 5.220. Her temple was near the Circus Maximus in Rome, an assembly place for official proceedings concerning foreigners' entrance into the city. Christian writers like Tertullian (*apol*. 9) and Lactantius (*inst*. 1.21.16) describe bizarre rituals of bloodletting by priestesses who offered their blood to the goddess. She also had a sacred grove and temple on the Capitoline hill, where the official declaration of war was made by throwing a spear (Augustine *civ*. 2.24.2; 3.25; 4.21, 24). Arrogance points to a tension and even contradiction within the poem and Christianity itself: virtues, whose nature is to be peaceful and passive, must vanquish vices. The qualities to achieve this purpose are war and its attendant, courage. Bellona, Mars, and their "accomplice," Courage, represent the reality of the Roman, pagan thought-world. Courage is a quality associated with success in battle that built Rome. By their very nature, the ideas of chastity and piety appear ill-suited to the world as it is currently constituted (lines 199–200). P. has put in Arrogance's mouth the age-old ethical problem, articulated in Plato's *Republic* through the character of Thrasymachus: the good do not benefit in the real world, the bad do.

197 [238] "Does frigid Chastity have the heart for war?"

The Latin for "heart," *iecur*, occurs in the works of P. 13 times. It literally means "liver," considered to be the seat of the emotions and passions (also, *symm*. 2.631). In the Latin text, Arrogance modifies *iecur* with *gelidum*,

"frigid," thereby ascribing to Chastity a passionless heart, i.e. a heart without the drive to fight. My translation transfers "frigid" to "Chastity." At line 200, Arrogance asks whether "the delicate work of Piety is achieved in battle?" Like in the case of Chastity, the vice raises a salient question: does the softness of Piety make it useless for human beings in the real world of vice?

201 [240] "my accomplice, Courage"

For the Latin, *virtus conscia*, a Vergilian expression (*aen*. 2.267; 12.668). Arrogance uses *virtus* in the traditional, pagan Roman sense as courage or manliness. P.'s use of *virtus* displays its several meanings and the Christian transformation of the word. Most uses in the *Psychomachia* mean the general term for personified virtue. P. also uses the word to mean "power" as in "strength of spirit" or "divine power" (line 51 [68]; *apoth*. 511, 568, 649, 812, 1058, 1077; *ham*. 731). P. uses it in a Christian sense to mean "goodness," and it is expressed by humans when they choose good over evil (*ham*. 694–95 and 705; see *ham*. 708 where *pietas* is conflated with *virtus* as "goodness"). It is no coincidence that *virtus* means "goodness" in passages where P. is arguing for human freewill. At *apoth*. 545, P. points out the older, pagan generation's misunderstanding of *virtus* for their eventual defeat by Christianity: "See what has become of our ancestors' virtue" (*en quo priscorum virtus defluxit avorum*). The meaning of *virtus* has changed in the new dispensation.

204–07 [243–48] "needy Justice . . . poor Honesty . . . parched Sobriety . . . fasting Hunger . . . Simplicity naked . . . Lowliness . . . unfree"

Arrogance's one-word descriptions remind the reader that a life of virtue and ascetism leads to poverty and suffering. P.'s personified virtues do not seem all that concerned with persuading the reader that the purely Christian life is preferable. At this point in the poem, the main incentive for living a Christian life is fear of divine retribution in the afterlife—and perhaps an embrace of one's lack of worldly success as a mark of superiority. This reading further buttresses the conclusion that the *Psychomachia* is directed toward an already converted Christian audience—or readers who waiver in their complete commitment.

207 [247–48] "Lowliness, lying on the ground unfree"

The qualities of Lowliness such as self-control, self-denial, self-deprecation, "voluntary mortification" (Prosperi 2000: 113), as well as suffering ridicule restrict Lowliness' freedom in Arrogance's eyes.

213–14 [253–54] "she spurs on her speedy steed and/with slackened reins she runs out of control"

The image of the charioteer loosening the reins and the horse out of control to the point of destruction goes back to Plato *phdr*. 254e2–5, in which the soul is figured as a charioteer who struggles to rein in the horse that

represents the spirit or will, whose aggression threatens the wellbeing of the other two horses that represent reason and appetite (Mastrangelo 2008: 136–37).

216–17 [257] "Arrogance falls/headlong into a pit"

This is a variation of the topos *fallere fallentes* ("the fallen fall"), which is found in Roman pagan literature (Livy *ab urb cond*. 21.34.1, and Ovid *ars am*. 1.645–55); but the motif is also present in the Bible (*Prov*. 26:27). Gothic sculptures at the cathedrals of Amiens and Reims sometimes represent Arrogance as a knight tumbling into a moat on her horse (Lavarenne 1992[2]: 42). Moreover, this phrase adds to the Platonist imagery of the passage by figuring Arrogance's demise as a fall or a descent from high to low.

216 [256] "then trample their expired remains"

The Latin for "trample," *supercalcare*, is rare and contains the prefix of Arrogance's Latin name, *Superbia*.

218–26 [257–69] "Deceit"

Another example of vices destroying themselves, but here, unlike in the case of Anger who extinguishes herself, one vice despoils another. At *cath*. 2.21, P. references the concept of deceit as clever and cunning (*versuta fraus et callida*) but also as loving the cover of darkness (*amat tenebris obtegi*—compare lines 224–25 [270], "that hidden area of Deceit"). Rapisarda (1969: 25) sees the poem's narrative happen within a continuous context of fraud or deceit, which suggests a distrust in the fate of mankind and often gives the poem a melancholic tone analogous to the *Aeneid*. The fact that Lowliness's words and actions promote the view that the unjust succeed in the world dovetails with Rapisarda's observation.

232 [277] "with a kind expression"

This phrase (*comi . . . vultu*) jolts the reader as Lowliness is just about to decapitate her foe. She may have this expression on her face because, in the eyes of P.'s readers, she is doing Arrogance a favor by killing the wretched vice. On the other hand, the contradiction of Lowliness, the virtue, committing violent murder sums up the incompatibility between New Testament and Old Testament visions of justice ("turn the other cheek" vs. "eye for an eye") (see note on lines 233–34).

233–34 [278–79] "she offers/her an avenging sword and infuses her with a desire for glory."

Hope intervenes to drive the narrative to its violent conclusion. It allows Lowliness not to act beyond her Christian character traits of calm and restraint. The phrase "avenging sword" is from the Old Testament (*gladium ultorem*, *Lev*. 20:25 and *ultor . . . gladius*, *Job* 19:20). The phrase "desire for glory" in the second half of the verse recalls pagan epic language (Silius Italicus, *pun*. 16.530). Within this line, P. utilizes both the Old Testament

theme of revenge-justice and the pagan epic warrior ethic of seeking glory in battle. This scene of single combat operationalizes this combination of Old Testament and pagan epic themes and language. Not surprisingly, both traditions work well together, achieving intense, graphic, and righteous effects. While the third tradition, the New Testament, does not promote an ethics of pagan epic combat and Old Testament retributive justice, Lowliness's fundamental identity as a New Testament virtue, supplemented by the words and actions of Hope, furnishes a Christian conclusion that the low will be raised high and the high will be brought low (see note on lines 239–43). Although the conflict between Old and New Testament views on Justice is part and parcel of the history of Christianity, and although the epic warrior tradition has little if any place in Christian ethics, P. attempts to integrate these three distinct, moral traditions into a work of art that supports a Christian world view.

235–36 [281–83] "tilts/her face back. She slices her arched neck, tears her head off"

The graphically violent end of the single combat recalls *aen*. 10.535–36 (*reflexa/cervice oranti capulo tenus applicat ensem*, "bending back the suppliant's neck, he drives the sword in up to the hilt"). Aeneas kills the suppliant, Magus, in his rampage after the death of his friend, Pallas. In Vergil's epic world, Magus' killing is an act of sacrilege, and P. does not shy away from such a comparison as Lowliness butchers Arrogance in similar fashion.

239–243 [285] "God breaks arrogance"

Hope sums up the meaning of Arrogance's demise as the high will become low and the low will become high. P. evokes various passages from the New Testament: *1Peter* 5:5 ("For God resists the proud, and gives grace to the humble"), *Lk*. 14:11/*Mt*. 23:12 ("For whoever exalts himself, will be humbled, and whoever humbles himself, will be exalted"), and *Mt*. 19:30 ("But many that are first will be the last, and the last first"). A similar thought also occurs at Horace, *carm*. 1.34.12–13: "God has the power to cause the highest and the lowest to change places," (*valet ima summis/mutare . . . deus*). This is the main idea of this battle scene, and P. has reused pagan epic, the Hebrew Bible, and New Testament language and imagery to express it.

242 [289] "The popular maxim of our Christ prevails"

The Latin for "popular," *pervulgata* recalls Arrogance's earlier words, *O ridiculum vulgus* ("you ridiculous mob!" 179 [216]), and functions to repudiate Roman hierarchical values, which Arrogance proffers in exaggerated form throughout her earlier speech (Nugent 1985: 40). As the currency of all people of all classes, Christ's words and ideas cut down to size Arrogance's pretensions to superiority.

244–55 [291–304] "Goliath"

P. inserts the story of David and Goliath as the Old Testament type for the battle between Arrogance and Lowliness (Mastrangelo 2008: 103). In the exegetical tradition and the corpus of P., Christ is closely associated with David as a part of a regal succession that leads to Christ (*TH* 20; *ham*. 787; *cath*. 12.49, 96; *apoth*. 418, 999, 1012). In setting the stage for the displacement of King Saul by David, an Israelite shepherd boy, the folktale-like story from 1*Sam*. 17 tells of the battle between David and Goliath, a seasoned Philistine warrior (Alter 2019: vol. 2: 244). David refuses to wear Saul's armor, going out to meet Goliath with only a staff, a sling, and five stones. David wins by slinging a stone that hits Goliath in the forehead, and then he cuts off the head of the vanquished giant (so Judith decapitates Holofernes and Lowliness Arrogance). P. has Hope emphasize Goliath's similarities to Arrogance as a cruel, trash-talker.

251–54 "that boy followed me . . . and he reached . . . up in my kingdom . . . my home . . . at the feet . . . of God"

Hope asserts that she (and by implication, other virtues) already existed in heaven with God at the time of the battle between David and Goliath. This forms a counter to Arrogance's assertion that she was present at the Fall of Adam and Eve (lines 184–89). In addition, David is assimilated to Christianity since he "followed" Christian virtues (Lowliness and Hope). P.'s reception of this story looks forward to Medieval ideas in which presumption and pride are associated with collapse and ruin. P. seems to have combined the Platonist idea of ascending to a higher or better state of being with the worldly notion, instantiated by Arrogance and Goliath, that the heights of material wealth and social status are ephemeral.

251–52 [300] "as he matured/with courage"

For the Latin *virtutis pube*. The word *pubes* has the sense of *iuvenis* in Latin; that is, a young adult in the prime of life. Here the whole phrase means coming into one's own in virtue and courage.

253 [302] "omnipotent God"

For the Latin, *omnipotentis*, a word P. is fond of for naming the godhead or Christ (*cath*. 3.83; 10.64).

256–57 [305–06] "brushing the air with her gilded wings,/the virgin took herself to heaven."

Wings are the means by which Hope moves from the material world to the spiritual world of heaven, transcending the human condition (Eliade 1967). Hope with wings is a topos of Greek, not Latin, literature—in fact, other than here, Hope never appears in Latin literature with wings. Shanzer (1989) thinks that P. is referring to the restoration of the Altar of (winged) Victory in the Senate House in Rome after 402. The altar of Victory was

removed from the Senate House in 383 by the emperor, Gratian. See Peltarri (2019: 142) for background and the scholarly debate.

259–60 [309] "They fight vices and preserve/themselves for their own reward"

Virtues do not receive any rewards, not even the prize of following Hope up to heaven. Virtue is its own reward.

261–382 [310–453] Fifth battle: Moderation (*Sobrietas*) vs. Luxury (*Luxuria*)

A decadent Luxury returning from a night of partying, enters in a magnificent chariot, with flowers and perfume as her weapons of choice. The virtues, who signify humans who are more than ready to indulge their desire for such luxuries, desert and surrender (261–87). Then, a witness to all of this, Moderation, enters, plants her flag, and gives a rousing speech to the wayward virtues, shifting between rebuke, praise, and exhortation. She describes in orientalizing fashion how luxury has made them decadent—indulging in oil-scented hair, walking salaciously, and getting drunk at parties. She admonishes the virtues by reminding them who they are, that they originate from the tribe of Judah who survived the desert, and that the history of the Israelite heroes David, Samuel, and Jonathan is *their* history (287–343). Thereafter, Moderation kills Luxury by pointing a cross at her horses, which throw the vice from the chariot. With a boulder to Luxury's face, Moderation delivers the deathblow and trash-talks to the vice's mutilated corpse (344–63). Luxury's death causes a panicked scattering of her army, which includes Humor, Insolence, Desire, Pomp, Glamor, Discord, and Pleasure (364–82). The virtues ignore the spoils left behind on the battlefield, signifying that they have fully recovered from their almost fatal dalliance with luxury.

Luxury's actions are a union of Venus and Mars as the virtues succumb to erotic desire and are pelted with flowers (Nugent 1985: 43). Luxury's entrance in a chariot suggests a perverse Roman triumph in which the victor throws flowers at the audience instead of vice versa. In Greek literature, Moderation (Σωφροσύνη) is the daughter of (sexual) Modesty (Hesiod, *Works and Days*), battles with the god Eros (*Greek Anthology*), and is the partner of Faith (Theognis). P. draws on Moderation's opposition to *Eros*/*Amor* (Desire), establishing clear oppositions (and limits) between the oil in Luxury's hair and the Christian symbols written in oil on the forehead, and between gorging oneself on wine and fancy food and God providing the thirsty Israelites with water in the desert and the consuming of the body of Christ. The figures of David, Samuel, and Jonathan, in various ways,

are examples of the tension between excess and moderation that teach the virtues (and Christians) how to behave. But they all, including the allusion to the tribe of Judah, are meant to jog the memory of stories, which, when interpreted, become the foundation of inner ethical life.

261 [310–11] "The enemy Luxury came from the edge of the western world"

Luxury (*Luxuria*) is portrayed as drunk and strung out from a life of pleasure and partying. Though not attractive anymore, she still manages to seduce and disarm the army of virtues. The image of pagan decadence is vivid. Prosperi translates *Luxuria* into the Italian *La Mollezza*, "Softness," which not only has the sense of carnal pleasure but also connotes the susceptibility to comforts and pleasures in life. Pleasure upsets the emotions, disrupting the soul itself (i.e. mind and spirit). This agrees with the Stoic view of pleasure in Seneca: "pleasure . . . soft, enervated, drenched in wine and perfume, and pallid, or painted and made up with cosmetics" (*voluptatem . . . mollem, enervem, mero atque unguento madentem, palladam ac fucatam et medicamentis pollinctam*, *de vit. beat*. 7.3). Luxury had been personified by Plautus (*trin*., prologue), but P. appears to be drawing on the wisdom tradition of *Prov*. 5, where a seductive "stranger-woman" tempts a young man. Claudian describes a decadent leader of an army at *gild*. 444–47: "The chief will come to battle crowned with roses, drenched with scents, his last feast still undigested; stumbling with wine" (*umbratus dux ipse rosis et marcidus ibit/unguentis crudusque cibo titubansque Lyaeo*).

Luxury coming from the West has confused readers because in the Graeco-Roman imagination, luxury is an import from the wealthy and decadent East. The early modern commentators, Dressel and Arevalo, posited that the "West" stands for the city of Rome; or, with Nebridius, Tartarus, the dark abyss and seat of the vices, is in the West. Early Christians believed the devil was from the west and Christ came from the east (Tertullian, *adv. valent*. 3 and Ambrose, *de myst*. 2.7). This east-west axis, from Jesus to the devil, from paradise to hell, is reflected in the Early Christian sacrament of baptism in which the about-to-be-baptized catechumen must face the west to renounce the devil, and then turn eastward and affirm his submission to Christ (Prosperi 2000: 115).

267 [317] "she reclined by the food trays"

Luxury is pictured at a banquet with flowers, perfume, and alcohol. Early Christians delighted in portraying the excess of Roman dining (*cath*. 3.21–21; Tertullian *cor*. 5.3; Minucius Felix *oct*. 12.6).

269 [320] "squashing flowers on her way"

Luxury destroys her own symbols of decadence and non-martial spirit. The Latin *calcatis* recalls the "trampling" of one's enemies and their plunder

(compare *cath*. 5.124 where flowers and lilies are trampled). The Latin *balsama* perversely recalls the "perfume" of a wedding dinner (Apuleius *met*. 6.11).

270–71 [321–22] "She travels in a grand chariot . . . capturing/the damaged hearts of heroes"

At lines 280–83, the virtues are seduced by the gleaming precious metals that decorate the chariot. Compare a description by the 4th-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus of the emperor Constantius in his magnificent chariot during a triumph (16.10.6). The Latin for "damaged hearts" (*saucia corda*) often refers to an overly obsessive love as in Dido's infatuation for Aeneas (*saucia cura*, *aen*. 4.1) and in the Epicurean rejection of love relationships (*mens saucia amore*, Lucretius *DRN* 1.1044).

272–74 [323–25] "No bow launches a swift arrow . . . no hissing spear . . . from its twisted strap . . . nobody brandishes a sword"

This is battle language taken directly from Vergil (*aen*. 4.73 and 12.267; *georg*. 4.313). The "strap" (*amento*) is a noose at the end of the "spear" (*frameam*, a German spear in Tacitus, *germ*. 6.1) that permitted the thrower to achieve extra speed and distance (*aen*. 9.665). Unlike in the case of Arrogance, who represents a decadent and long-gone pagan epic world, Luxury flouts pagan epic militaristic norms, resulting in a freakish version of a martial epic character.

274 [326–27] "Luxury shoots violets and jousts with rose petals"

The eccentric version of an epic hero continues (see previous note). Like Lowliness in the previous battle, Luxury fights without conventional weapons, assuming her explicit and implicit qualities will do the trick. She will be proved wrong. The combination of roses and violets is common in pagan and early Christian literature (Cicero *tusc*. 5.73; Statius *silv*. 1.222–23; Dracontius *ep. in fratr*. 7–9, *de laud. dei* 1.67–68; *cath*. 5.113). These flowers that represent the temptations of luxury will be transformed into "chains" at line 296 [352] (*vincula*). In his description of a decadent Luxury, P. prioritizes drunkenness and flowers, two tropes that form two sides of the same hedonist coin in both pagan and biblical literature (Petronius *sat*. 65.3; *Is*. 28:1; *Wis*. 2:7–8).

275–76 [328] "her seductive breath"

The Latin word for "seductive," *inlex*, is rare in Latin literature. P. uses it again at *symm*. 2.6 to refer to the pagan senator Symmachus' exceptional talent for persuasion as "seductive skill" (*inlice arte*). Throughout the description of Luxury, the poet conjures her transgressive nature ("ruled by a depraved law," 287) as she blurs the boundaries between norms.

280–83 [334–37] "they ogle at Luxury's chariot . . . They are in awe"

Descriptions of chariots as fine artistic and beautiful objects occur in pagan epic back to Homer, who delighted in detailed descriptions of objects such as tripods, made with fine metals and gems. It was meant to impress the reader with a great and opulent world that was lost in legend, whereas P. exploits the trope to portray the worthlessness of such objects and the desire for them. Later in the poem, P. will describe another fine object, the new Christian temple, with gems, marble, and gold, thereby adapting a pagan epic trope to express a vision of a new Christian world through the ornamental description of its art and architectural objects, i.e. the literary tradition of *ekphrasis*. Early Christian *ekphrasis*, as practiced by P., describes objects with a view to stories, characters, and doctrines from Christian Salvation History. The Latin verb for "they are in awe of," *inhiare*, is used by Vergil at *aen*. 7.812 of young men who "are in awe of" Camilla, with her regal robes and golden brooch. Prudentius associates fine objects with the flawed life of the material world. The virtues evoke a spartan image, bereft of the objects that signify wealth and martial prowess. However, in an ingenious Christian inversion, the temple of wisdom, an unreal and abstract object, possesses the visual beauty of fine objects.

283 [339] "tawny electrum"

A metal alloy made up of four parts gold and one part silver, which gives it an amber color (Pliny *ep*. 33.80; Vergil *aen*. 8.402). The ancients frequently used the metal to make brooches, cups, and other objects.

284–85 [340–41] "The whole army freely and mutinously arrives at the desire for surrender"

The Latin phrase *deditionis amorem* ("the desire for surrender") conflates material, sexual, and martial passion. Luxury instills an erotic-like desire for fine material objects, but it also drains the army of virtues, and Romans, of their martial strength.

286 [343] "depraved law of the sleazy dive-bar"

The Latin for "sleazy dive-bar" (*ganearum*) literally means "an eating-house of bad repute." It was a place where prostitutes did business, an aspect that P. is foregrounding here.

287–88 [344–45] "The bravest virtue, Moderation"

Apuleius personifies Moderation at *met*. 5.30. For early Christian poets like Dracontius, Moderation (*Sobrietas*) tempers and directs human desires (*rom*. 6.65), and for Paulinus of Nola she is what country-folk "drink in" when perusing holy scenes depicted in the paintings at the church in Nola (*carm*. 27.592). The patristic fathers, Ambrose, in particular, make her the companion of beauty and chastity (*de abr*. 2.4.17), the ruler of the mind (*off*. 1.3.12), and the virtue that makes one braver (*de vid*. 7.41), like Judith whose possession of moderation allowed her to vanquish Holofernes (*de*

vid. 7.40). This kind of discourse begins in the 3rd century with Origen, who calls Moderation "the mother of all virtues" (*Sobrietas vero omnium virtutum mater est*, *in lev. hom*., trans. Rufinus), the equivalent to the Greek concept σοφροσύνη (*in ep. paul. ad rom*. 38.9.2; also, Jerome *ad iov*. 1.27), and even portrays her fleeing Luxury (*sobrietas luxuriam fugat*, *in ep. paul ad rom*. 16.2.1). By embedding Moderation in such a vivid narrative, P. synthesizes and propels these usages to a new frontier in which moderation is both the cornerstone of a virtuous soul and a character on the page whose example will be internalized by the reader.

297 [355] "wreathes bursting with rust-red flowers"

Lavarenne understands the color "rust-red" (*ferrugineo*, 355) as indicating a somber or ambiguous tone rather than one of death or sordidness like Bergman does. Similarly, Prosperi sees the Latin indicating a turquoise color, which might better compliment the images of chains (*vincula*, 352) and fastenings (*nexus*, 357) several lines later. This color serves to link the soft seductive flowers with chains of hedonism (compare *symm*. 2.146–48).

299 [358] "a golden bandana"

For the Latin, *mitra* . . . *aurata*. The *mitra* was of Eastern origin, covering the head, perhaps like a turban, and held on by a chin-strap. According to early Christian authors, in Rome it was worn by women and effeminate men (Lavarenne 1992[2]: 63, note 1 and *TLL* 8.0.1160,79–86). In the *Aeneid*, Vergil portrays Paris wearing one, signaling his effeminate easterner status (*aen*. 9.616)—even comparing Aeneas to Paris wearing the *mitra* (*aen*. 4.215).

300 [359] "soaking up perfume"

Luxury's hair is full of a common perfume (*nardum*), which is made from flowers and infuses the bandana. Perfumed hair is another sign of eastern effeminacy. Turnus describes Aeneas, who is from the east as a Phrygian half-man whose hair is moistened with odorous myrrh oil (also Valerius Flaccus, *arg*. 8.347–48). The effeminacy of Luxury continues to be a concern for Moderation in lines 303–04, where she points out her enemy's fancy shirt and provocative gait.

301–302 [360–61] "symbols . . . on your forehead in oil . . . a royal and eternal anointing"

The Church used a mixture of oil and perfume in baptism and other sacred events of the Church (confirmation, ordination, dedications of altars and churches). At *symm*. 1.586, Christians who attend holy sites are anointed, and at *pe*. 4.102–103, faith and the olive are associated. P. engages in a series of oppositional juxtapositions in this section of the poem: the oil on the forehead with another unguent that infuses Luxury's hair and bandana; Luxury's "silk shirts" (304) with the "immortal vest" (i.e. baptismal gown,

305) that Faith made for the virtues and Christians; the drunken parties of Luxury (308–10) with the thirst of the Israelites in the desert after their exodus from Egypt (311–12); and "the food of angels" (314) with the "gluttony of filthy Luxury" (317).

310 [370] "their chiseled engravings"

The Latin *toreumata* are the ornamental, engraved reliefs of an opulent couch that indicate a sumptuous dinner party. See Sallust *cat*. 20; and Martial *spect*. 4.39.4 and 10.87.16.

311–12 [371–72] "Have you forgotten your ancestors' thirst in the desert?"

While the Israelites are crossing the desert after their liberation from Egypt, Moses with his staff strikes a rock that miraculously gushes drinking water (*Ex*. 17:3–6; see Alter 2019: vol. 1: 208 on the association of Egypt with water); this is the same staff that changed into a snake and caused the Nile's waters to turn blood red (*Ex*. 7:10, 15–21). Here, Moderation pleads with her followers to remember this story, to see her as Moses and themselves as the Israelites. Through memory of biblical stories as typological instances of their own lives, Christians can ward off the temptation of a vice like Luxury. In the book of *Exodus*, many stories highlight Moses' qualities and struggles as a leader. Moreover, the reference to "our ancestors" implies Christians as the Chosen People and the Jews as forsaken by God, a frequent theme of supersessionist Christian exegesis in which the events and characters of the Hebrew Bible are appropriated as part and parcel of a Christian past.

314–15 [374–75] "Didn't the food of angels . . . flow into the tents of your ancestors?"

The Latin for "food of angels," *angelicus cibus*, prefigures the bread of the Eucharist, the body of Christ who is the true bread of heaven (see also *TH* 11 and Dracontius *de laud. dei* 2.179). In the Hebrew Bible, the Israelites were miraculously fed for four years by this bread. Philo of Alexandria, the Jewish exegete, understood that the bread represented heavenly nutrients of the soul (*de spec. leg*. 3; 66.162; see also Paul 1*Cor*. 10:3, *escam spiritualem*). But also, it is a metaphor for the life-giving power of Christian doctrine.

316–17 [375–76] "in the evening of a belated age"

The Latin for "in the evening," *vespertinus*, refers to the west, or people of the evening, i.e. western people (cf. Horace *sat*. 1.4.30). But the phrase "a belated age" expresses a dark tone. In P.'s lifetime, it was common in early Christian thought and literature to assume an apocalyptic view that the return of Christ and the end of the world were immanent (1*Thess*. 4 and 1*Cor*. 15). This outlook triggered certain attitudes and behaviors, for

instance, celibacy during marriage in order not to have children and the renunciation of wealth. Paulinus of Nola *ep*. 13.15 reflects these attitudes, but Augustine in 418 believed that the second coming of Christ and the end of the world could not take place until all nations had been converted to Christianity (*ep*. 199.35 with Brown 2003: 93).

322–26 [383–88] "You are the highborn line of Judah . . . mother of God . . . David . . . Samuel"

Christians trace Jesus back through the line of David and the tribe of Judah. Christians themselves can now trace their own tribe to Judah because the virtues have Jewish patriarchal connections. See *Mt*. 1:1–17 for Christ's genealogy. Samuel was crucial in securing David as king of Judah, a geographical area designated as the Holy Land with Jerusalem as the capital. Here, Moderation adds Christ to a royal genealogy whose culmination is David as mentioned at *TH* 20, *ham*. 787, *cath*. 12.49, 96, and *apoth*. 418, 999, 1012. Further on at lines 450–62 P. again asserts the ancestral connection between Christ and the tribe of Judah, reflecting how Christianity is both grounded in the ancient religious tradition of Judaism and supersedes it.

325 [386–87] "David, experienced in nonstop sorrows of war"

The most consequential king of ancient Israel extended Israel's borders by defeating the Philistines, Moab, Edom, Ammon, and Aram. David's example appears to normalize the continuous battle a person must wage with vice.

326–30 [388] "Samuel"

Samuel was a judge and prophet of the Hebrew Bible who anointed Saul and David as kings. He disapproved of his father, Saul, who refused to kill the Amalecite King, Agag, he had defeated in a war and who kept the plunder of the war, listening to his greedy troops over the word of God (1*Sam*. 15). Thus, Samuel is an example to the reader that virtue must completely vanquish vice and not become enamored of material luxuries. Samuel rejects plunder, a central goal of ancient warfare, and highlights destroying a tyrant, the human example of material desires.

332 [394–95] "the greatest deity"

The Latin word for deity here, *numinis*, in addition to *deus*, is used by P. to refer to the Christian God; e.g. *cath*. 1.42, 5.106.

333–4 [397–98] "Jonathan repented because he desecrated the sober fast."

Saul, the king of Israel, had sworn to fast during a battle with the Philistines. But his son, Jonathan, had missed his proclamation and ate some honey he found on the ground in a forest. As a result of God's silent disapproval, Saul promised to execute the guilty one. He planned on going

through with the execution of his own son until the people pleaded for mercy on Jonathan's behalf (1*Sam*. 14:24–46). As Alter comments, the story "is a precise reversal of the incident after Saul's victory over Nashash, in which the troops sought to kill dissidents and Saul saved their lives. Now he has become a severe autocrat, and his son's well-earned popularity with the troops saves the prince" (Alter 2019: vol. 2: 233). The story of Jonathan follows in the genealogical theme. However, most commentators believe P. is conflating the story of David and his son Absalom (2*Sam*. 15–19), who (unlike Jonathan) intentionally betrayed his father, with the story of Saul and Jonathan (1*Sam*. 14:24). This is because P. misreads when he says that Jonathan "repented" for his "alluring desire for power," an idea not present in the biblical passage. However, Thomson (1949: 306, note b) suggests that P. over-read 1*Sam*. 15:29–30 where Samuel says, "The Lord has torn away the kingship of Israel from you this day and given it to your fellow man who is better than you." The Latin for "he desecrated," *conviolasse*, is post-classical, for example, used by Augustine (*civ*. 7.21) and Orosius (*apol*. 23.2).

338–39 [402] "nor did the cruel sentence stain his father's axes"

The language *saeva secures* is reminiscent of Lucretius *DRN* 5.1234 (*fasces saevas secures*) and Vergil *aen*. 6.819–24. The axes and the fasces are symbols of supreme power and Roman *imperium*. P. is drawing a contrast with the passage from the *Aeneid*, which refers to the ancestor of Brutus and Manlius Torquatus, who both executed their sons.

340 [404] "I will show the virtues the way"

For a similar thought, see *cath*. 10.91, "a lofty way for the just is opened;" or Ausonius, *ephem*. 3.30, 87, which calls on Christ "to open the way" (*pande viam*: with Peltarri 2019: 154).

344 [407] "She spoke and held out the Lord's cross"

A typical epic formulation for the Latin, *sic effata* (*aen*. 4.30 and 7.456; Statius, *theb*. 9.668; Claudian in *eutr*. 375). Early Christian writers frequently portray the cross with magical powers—typologically similar to the magical staff of Moses (see note on lines 311–12). See *cath*. 6.129–38, in particular, *cath*. 6.133, "the cross drives out every sin" (*crux pellit omne crimen*). Similarly, Lactantius discusses how demons flee the body in the presence of the sign of the cross (*inst*. 4.27).

346 [410] "Its bejeweled head"

Brilliantly ornamented with precious stones, versions of the cross were used in the processions at holy festivals. P. also has a penchant for describing holy objects, including churches (*pe*. 12.31–54) and the temple in the second half of the poem in ostentatious terms with jewels and fine metals. On the connections between poetic composition and

the plastic arts in early Christian poetry see the Introduction 19–20 with notes 46 and 47.

349 [413–14] "soils her greasy hair with dusty"

Luxury is described with the word, *madentem* ("greasy" see note for line 261), which Vergil uses to describe the hair of the decadent easterner, Paris (*aen*. 4.216); in addition, a similar group of words is found at *aen*. 12.99–100 where Turnus fantasizes about killing Aeneas, whom he calls a "Phrygian eunuch." P. evokes the same orientalizing trope when he describes pagan priests' "greasy fillets" (*pe*. 363) or "breezes drenched in the scent of Persians" that are the opposite of the effects of Christian doctrine. Right up to her death, Luxury's portrayal is in line with Roman clichés about eastern decadence.

351–52 [417] "Moderation adds the death blow"

In Homer and Vergil's epic poems, heroes are frequently aided in killing their enemies. In the *Iliad*, Hector stabs Patroklos after he is struck witless by Apollo and hit by Euphorbos' spear, and Achilles finishes off Hector after he himself and his weapon are manipulated by Athena. In the *Aeneid*, Turnus is wounded before Aeneas delivers the final death stroke. Both Homer and Vergil construct expanded death and battle scenes to highlight the consequences for the story. Unsurprisingly, P. adopts this pagan epic pattern so that through intertextual comparison the personified virtues become new epic heroes; and by implication, if the reader is able to vanquish vice, he or she can become the hero in this new epic combat.

353–55 [419–21] "luck shows this act of violence to the standard bearer . . . misfortune propels the rock"

P. uses two different Latin words for "luck," *fors*, and for "misfortune," *casus*. While the sense of these two words can generally overlap to mean "luck," good or bad, or the more neutral "chance," P. seems to be making a distinction between *fors* as mere chance (or, for Moderation, the "luck" of the stone appearing in her path to pick up to throw) and *casus*, the "misfortune" and "death" for Luxury.

354 [420] "holds no spear, yet brandishes a banner of war"

This line is a combination of two lines from Vergil, *aen*. 8.683 and *aen*. 12.289. For P., the language of violence often comes from Roman epic poetry.

355–59 [421–26] "It breaks the breath passage . . . she . . . puking swallowed morsels."

The graphic nature of the description emphasizes the blocking of Luxury's breath passage for the life force and the shutting down of her speech. In death scenes of Paganism, Lust, Anger, Luxury, Greed, and Discord, P. focuses on breathing and the organs of breathing and sound. The emphasis

on the death of the vices' life force parallels the Epicurean position that the soul is mortal as seen in Book 3 of Lucretius' *DRN*, where the moment of death for humans is an extinction of the soul (Mastrangelo 2008: 145–55). The silencing of a vice is significant, since humans must use the correct words to describe the Christian God and doctrine. Heresies, a pressing concern in early Christianity, were a perversion of Christian words and ideas—as the last vice killed in the poem, Discord, exemplifies.

Commentators have been disturbed by P.'s penchant for graphic, violent descriptions and the portrayal of virtues as ruthlessly violent entities (e.g. Lavarenne 1992[2]: 12–13). Prosperi sees a certain comradery in the Spanish-Roman writers Lucan, Seneca, and P. in whose descriptions there is a "sadistic complacency." However, Prosperi also notices in P.'s poetry a desire to destroy every "temptation of allegorical abstraction," that is, "the whole distance between the physical and the moral to be achieved through crude and vulgar physical descriptions of violence" (Prosperi 2000: 118, note 114). Rapisarda (1969: 17) sees the roots of chivalrous poetry here, or perhaps an early version of the Roman picaresque through the portrayal of grotesque irrationality.

357–58 [424] "gorge her mutilated throat with bloody bits"

Perhaps hearkening back to a story found in Herodotus (1.214) of Queen Tamyris, a Scythian queen who defeated the Persian king, Cyrus, in 530 BC. In a gruesome scene, she dips the head of Cyrus in his own blood to drink for having murdered her son by getting him drunk.

361–62 [429] "the price of too many treats in the past"

P. alludes to the age of paganism when the life of the flesh held sway as gone. The next line, "the taste of death provides harsh closure" (363), qualifies the "treats" metaphor with the taste of death forming a terminal point in the history of the world, after which begins the possibility of eternal life.

364 [433] "the insipid army"

The Latin for "insipid," *nugatrix*, is related to *nugator*, "jester," "braggart," or "debauchee" (*cath*. 2.29). And all of these words go back to *nuga*, which Catullus used to refer to his poetry as "trifles" (*nugas*, Catullus 1.4). Here, the satirical origin of the word from Plautus (*mil*. 1078), Lucilius (577, 1002), and Persius (5. 127) is operative as the dispersal of Luxury's followers can appear comic (Peltarri 2019: 157). *Nugatrix* is a Prudentian coinage and, as an adjective, sets a pejorative tone.

365–66 [433–34] "Humor and Insolence . . . throw away their cymbals"

Insolence (*Petulantia*) is the divine daughter of the Night and Erebus, a primordial divinity of darkness and mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony* as one of the creatures of Chaos. The Latin for Humor, *Iocus*, as a common noun means "joke" but can also have the sense of *nuga* ("a thing of no

importance," *TLL* 7.2.288.75; see previous note). The personification is found in Plautus (*bacch*. 115–16) within a group that includes *Amor*, *Voluptas*, *Venus*, *Venustas*, *Gaudium*, *Ludus*, *Sermo*, and *Suavisaviatio*; and in Horace (*carm*. 1.2.34), who associates *Iocus* with Cupid. Humor and Insolence turn to run like defeated soldiers who drop their weapons, which here are their cymbals (*cymbala*, 366 [434]). These, along with the rattle (*sistro*, 367 [435]), drums, and ululations are the instruments of the participants in Bacchanal rituals and are also used to celebrate the initiation rites of the imported Egyptian goddess, Isis (Ovid *am*. 2.13). Not only does P. associate pagan theological and religious imagery with the vices, he manages to portray the battle of the virtues and vices as a kind of civil war through the word, *sistro*, a "rattle" that Cleopatra shakes to encourage civil war at *aen*. 8.6.96 and Propertius 3.2.43. See note on Discord, line 372.

368 [436] "The fugitive Desire turns tail"

In pagan literature, the god, *Amor*, personified often as Cupid, stands for sexual desire or infatuation. He was frequently portrayed, armed with bow and arrows, which here he abandons. The mentioning of his "poison arrows" discredits Cupid's pagan function of instilling erotic feelings. For early Christian thinkers, erotic attachments are fundamentally immoral. Vergil and Dracontius associate *Amor*/Desire/Cupid with being "winged" (*aliger*, *aen*. 1.663; *ep. in fratr*. 57).

370 [439] "Pomp"

The Latin word, *pompa*, for early Christians has to do either with a show of luxuries and wealth or the glory of Christian doctrine (*TLL* 10.1.2597.44–70). Here it is the former and is the personification of narcissism.

370–71 [439–40] "stripped nude of her pretentious robe"

The Latin for "pretentious," *inani*, literally means "empty" or "useless." The "robe," *peplo*, is loosely fitting and arresting (Claudian *fesc*. 122).

371 [441] "Glamor"

For the Latin *Venustatis*, part of the list of personifications in Plautus *bacch*. 114–15 (see note to 365–66), and it is a quality related to carnal pleasures; Ambrose several times mentions it with the words that denote outer appearance: *decor*, "elegance," and *pulchritudo*, "beauty" (e.g. Ambrose *off*. 1.45.220–21). The clothes and fine jewelry that count for these qualities are stripped away from the personification (like Pomp), rendering her without the very identity of her name.

372 [442] "Discord"

Discordia, a Roman epic personification closely associated with Rome's past of civil war. At *aen*. 8.702 she struts joyously with a torn robe in the middle of Aeneas' shield, flanked by Mars, the Furies, and the war demon, *Bellona*. In Vergil's scene, Discord reflects the destructive

civil war between Augustus and Antony and Cleopatra. Their final battle at Actium (31 BC) and the Battle of Pharsalia (48 BC) between Julius Caesar and Brutus and Cassius, stand as historical exemplars of civil war. Other Roman epic poets such as Ennius (*ann*. 266–67), Valerius Flaccus (*arg*. 2.204 and 7.467–68), Silius Italicus (*pun*. 13.586–87), and Statius (*theb*. 7.50) exploit Discord as well. At *civ*. 3.25–26, Augustine mockingly asks why in Rome a temple to the goddess Concord was built on a spot of bloodshed whereas a temple to Discord would have been more appropriate. At *ham*. 395, P. portrays Discord as a follower of the devil together with *Superstitio*, *Ira*, and others. In the *Psychomachia*, Discord is mentioned again at line 400 where the vice Greed drives civil war among her followers; and Discord will later reenter at line 604 where she catalyzes an ecclesiastical civil war as the personification of Heresy. Moreover, P. transforms the literary tradition's association of Discord with civil war into an interior war within the individual. In its determinative influence on the vices, Discord becomes the basis of each person's doctrinal confusion and psychological pain.

373 [444] "Pleasure"

At *civ*. 5.20, Augustine oversimplifies when he says that pagan philosophers understand pleasure (*voluptas*) as simply bodily pleasure and the ruler over the virtues. For him and other Christian writers, this means that the virtues "will be enslaved to Pleasure" (*servient Voluptati*), necessitating the Christian reaction that subordinates bodily pleasure and the pleasure that results from worldly success to belief in and love of God. The pagan poetic tradition is also more complex. A personified Pleasure and Virtue engage in a debate at Silius Italicus *pun*. 15.18–121, in which Pleasure argues for the simple pleasures of peace and Virtue for the glories of war. Claudian in a marriage poem locates her in the garden of Venus (*epith*. 82). Dracontius sees pleasure as primarily carnal (*ep. in fratr*. 57) but in Christian fashion makes her "morally pure" in a marriage poem (*casta Voluptas, epith. ioan. et vit*. 59).

377–79 [448–49] "a hairpin . . . necklace"

The objects left on the battlefield by the routed vices are not battle "equipment" (377) but effeminate and superficial trinkets. Moderation tramples these objects, which, as a whole, represent the wrong road taken. The "bridal veil" was flame-colored (*flammeolum*), representing perhaps an erotic energy (Catullus 61.8 and Juvenal 6.225). In a general sense, these objects come from the worlds of Roman pagan religion, Roman aristocratic fashion, and political hierarchy. P. is clear that these objects deserve destruction and not careful description as the temple and its objects will receive.

380–81 [451–52] "trample the accursed enticements under pure feet"

The Latin for "enticements," *scandala*, is a post-classical and Christian word that literally means "stumbling block" but comes to mean a temptation that leads to sin (Tertullian *virg. vel*. 3, *adv. iud*. 14, *adv. marc*. 3.1; *Ps*. 118.165; 1*Jn*. 2:10). The virtues and Christians, as represented by Moderation, trample and abandon them. They are not worthy of poetic description. The old Roman religious, social, and, to a certain extent, political world has been replaced by a new Christian dispensation.

383–533 [454–628] Sixth battle: Greed (*Avaritia*) vs. Reason (*Ratio*) with Good Works (*Operatio*)

In a smooth transition, P. alternates between Greed's demonic retinue and soldiers in a civil war who scavenge Luxury's battlefield spoils (383–403). P. then states the all-encompassing effects of Greed on humanity, "there is no more violent vice on earth" (403–418). Reason (*Ratio*) enters "massively armed" and saves the clergy of the Church and the virtues from Greed, who is flummoxed by the ineffectiveness of her weapons and moans about her lost power, which was triumphant in the stories of Judas, Achar, and Judah (418–67). Unable to win with a direct (military) approach, she cleverly disguises herself as a virtuous form of Greed, Thrift (*Frugi*, 468–86). Good Works (*Operatio*), raging and itching for combat, suddenly enters from the rear of the battlefield and strangles and stabs Greed to death, scattering the spoils over the killing field (486–513 [573–605]). Good Works then addresses the Virtues, telling them to disarm and finally relax (514–33 [606–28]).

This is the longest battle in the poem. P. understands Greed (*Avaritia*) as "the sole root of evil" (*radix sola malorum*, *ham*. 258 with 1*Tim*. 6:10), preeminent among the vices and, therefore, deserving of detailed treatment (P. engages in the epic technique of expanding a formulaic scene of a single combat). Greed not only attacks virtues in the soul, but also the Church in the guise of its clergy. Critics have seen several ideas and themes reflected in the portrayal of Greed and her minions. Her gaping, yawning, gluttonous quality suggests insatiable sexual and material appetites (Nugent 1985: 50; cf. *ham*. 254–55). As hinted at in the image of the Furies and monstrous sins (391–93), Greed corrupts and destroys natural relationships, including those between parent and child (400–403). And Greed's effects can be seen from the individual to all humankind ("the one . . . another . . . many . . . the whole of mankind," 405–15). Good Works, whose Latin name, *Operatio*, contains the words *ratio* ("reason") and *ope* (from *ops* meaning "help" or "power") must finish the job for Reason. In order to be a true Christian

and banish greed from one's life and community, one must have practical reason, that is, one must apply reason in the world by rejecting in practice material goods and sexual pleasures. Moreover, the Latin word, *opera* (nominative of *opera* or the neuter plural of *opus*) is also embedded in *Operatio*. The exercise of *ratio* requires "labor" and "effort," especially if one is to banish vice from the soul. The two biblical typologies P. dwells on, Judas and Achar's destruction through Greed (448–62), show vice's ubiquity throughout history. Her pervasiveness is also expressed in genealogical terms that extend even to Christ (the greedy Achar is an ancestral kinsman of Christ!) and to the reader.

383 [454] "Greed"

Greed achieves a consensus as the chief vice in the 10th century. However, P. along with Augustine (*de genesi ad litteram* 11.15) had already understood Greed as the vice that produces all other sins (*ham*. 251–58). Claudian portrays Greed as the mother of all cares (*ruf*. 1.29) that flock to her lap—hinted at by P. with the description of Greed's "large fold in front." The descriptive phrases, "crooked hands" (*unca manu* [455–56]) and "hard fingernails" (*ungues aënos* [463]) recall Vergil *aen*. 6.360 and Valerius Flaccus *arg*. 7.312. These images combine with "heavy money bags" and "ample girdle" to portray a grotesque figure—also "snaky hair" (476).

385 [455] "Excess"

The Latin, *Luxus edax*, literally means "rapacious Luxury." Here it has the sense of excess as wasting one's patrimony through reckless spending.

388 [460] "money-bags"

The Latin, *fiscos*, are larger containers carried by mules (Phaedrus *fab*. 2.7).

391–92 [464–66] "Worry, Hunger, Dread, . . . Furies . . . follow her"

The list recalls the monsters that crowd the gateway to Avernus (hell) in the *Aeneid* (*aen*. 6.274–76). The Furies include all the demon vices. Claudian as well furnishes a list at *vi cons*. 322, including Fear (Paleness), Hunger, Strife, and Sickness. For the history of these personifications in Roman literature, see Prosperi (2000: 120–21).

394 [469] "nourished from the black milk"

The Latin *nigro de lacte creata* is a unique expression. The participle *creata* has taken on the mean of *nutrita*, hence, "nourished."

396 [470] "reddish yellow gems"

"Reddish yellow" for the Latin, *fluvis* and "gems" for the Latin, *ceraunis*, the primary meaning of which is adjectival, "pertaining to thunder or lightening." Claudian *laus ser*. 77 uses it for a gem; in both these cases the gem could be a cat's eye or pearl.

401–02 [478] "insatiable Materialism"

The Latin, *amor habendi*, is used by Vergil at *aen*. 8.327 by Evander to describe the degenerate age that follows a golden age in Latium. Greed appears to be a more intense and destructive version of Luxury in its attachment to worldly goods and desires.

403–04 [480–81] "Such ruin, Greed, the master of the world, produces in every nation"

P. borrows almost a complete line from Vergil (*talia per populos edebat funera victrix*, 480 from *aen*. 10.602, *talia per campos edebat funera ductor*). Vergil is describing Aeneas' prowess as he deals out death in battle, an epic trope referred to as *aristeia* that P. transfers to Greed, who destroys all who commit crimes that result from her dominance in the soul.

405–06 [482–83] "whose eyesight is gone and eyes gouged out"

The phrase "whose eyesight is gone" (*lumine adempto*) is found in Lucretius, *DRN* 3.1047, Vergil *aen*. 3.658, and Ovid *tr*. 4.4. The phrase "eyes gouged out" occurs at Vergil *aen*. 6.663, Caesar *bgall*. 7.4.

411 [489] "he groans"

The Latin *suspirit* has a strong sense here of "groan," equivalent to *deplorat*. See also Lucretius *DRN* 2.1164.

414 [492] "speculator"

The Latin *speculator* is the reading of the text preferred by most modern editors, including Lavarenne, Thomson, and Cunningham. Bergman prints *peculator*, which comes from the oldest manuscript, but sense and the majority of later manuscripts point to *speculator*. See Lavarenne (1933: 245–46) and (1992^2: 67).

417–19 [496–98] "the life of the people . . . the priests of the lord"

The Latin *mundani populi* and *sacerdotes domini* can refer to either the congregation and the clergy or, in a broader sense, the people and holy men. Bergman (1897) sees *mundani* as more equivalent to *profani*, "ignorant" or "wicked," but P.'s usage captures all types of people, because greed can destroy the learned and even priests. Clergy, holy men, and everyday Christians all must battle Greed together. In a more historical sense, P. appears to hint at the worry within the Church that the clergy had become too attached to worldly wealth and advancement. Contemporaneously, Sulpicius Severus calls attention to this concern with regard to the threat of heresies: "And now everything seemed to be disturbed and confused by the discord, especially that of the bishops, while everything was corrupted by them through their hatred, partiality, fear, faithlessness, envy, factiousness, lust, greed, pride, sleepiness, and inactivity" (*chron*. 2.51; see also Cyprian, *ep*. 1.1.2).

418 [496] "She condemns them to Hell"

The word for "Hell" that P. uses here is Latinized Hebrew, *gehennae*, and refers to a valley near Jerusalem, which originally was used for human sacrifice, and then as a landfill that was continuously on fire (Prosperi 2000: 121). It came to symbolize hell in the gospels (*Mt*. 5:22, 29–30; 10:28; 18:9; *Lk*. 21:1).

420–21 [500] "blowing their trumpets"

The Latin expression *inplebant classica* is common in both pagan literature and the Bible (e.g. Vergil *georg*. 2.559 and *Num*. 10:8).

422 [502] "massively armed Reason"

In early Christian thinking, Reason (*Ratio*) is identified with Christian doctrine and diametrically opposed to pagan superstition. The earliest Christian poet, Commodianus, delighted in calling pagans *stulti* ("stupid"). The Latin for "massively armed" is used of Mars by Lucretius (*DRN* 1.33) and of Glory by Dracontius (*sat*. 199–200); P. summons the militaristic sense here to make it clear that Reason represents the rejection of pagan religion and thought. Not only does reason view paganism as superstition, but she also rejects the sophistry of Greek philosophy and the temptations of the vices. Tertullian *cor*. 4.1 says that reason is the protection for faith; moreover, God is the creator of reason (*cor*. 5.1–2), the source for human reason, and the reason that underlies the functioning of the universe (*apol*. 21.10–11). As the "only ally of the priestly clan," reason must be the possession of all priests, whom P. indicates as originating from the tribe of Levi, the traditional priests of the Hebrew Bible (*Num*. 3:5). Reason remains with them even if they commit what appears to be the venial sin of desire. P. might be thinking of the rehabilitated sons of Levi who wandered from God to worship a golden calf (*Ex*. 32:26–28).

423 [502] "priestly clan"

The Latin, *Levitidis*, "the race of Levi," appears in the *Psychomachia* for the first time.

437 [517–19] "delicate, rough, hard, learned, unlearned, stupid, wise, pure, and impure"

A hallmark of P.'s style is to list oppositional adjectives, giving an oxymoronic effect. The Latin for the antithesis "pure and impure," *casta incesta*, is also found at Lucretius *DRN* 1.98.

433–34 [512–14] "passion for violence . . . used to crush the hearts of people"

The Latin phrase for "passion for violence," *violentia nocendi*, is unique to P. The Latin for "the hearts of men," *corda hominum*, is common in Christian Latin, especially in Ambrose, Augustine, and, later, Bede—the Latin phrase occurs in the Vulgate at *Prov*. 27:19. P. uses the phrase also at

1*symm*. 374 and *2symm*. 590. However, his use of the phrase here with *rumpere* is noteworthy. Most usages center on "enlightening" or "converting" people's hearts to the Christian way. P.'s pairing of the phrase with *rumpere* ("to crush") is only found over 100 years later in Cassiodorus, who appears to be alluding to P.: *gladius autem dicitur sermo dei, quia corpulenta vitiis corda hominum ictu suae virtutis irrumpit* ("However, the word of God is said to be a sword, since it breaks people's hearts fat with vices by the blow of its virtue," *exp. ad ps*. 97:44). The violent tone and language having to do with the virtues and vices in the heart reflects P's picture of the violent, spiritual struggle within each person.

435 [514–15] "does not form a person"

The Latin for "form," *formavit* is Cunningham and Peltarri's reading from the oldest manuscript. Other editors such as Thomson and Lavarenne print *duravit* ("harden"), which does not have as much manuscript authority and appears somewhat redundant with the rest of the sentence.

436–38 [517–19] "All temperaments . . . go to their deaths"

This passage's density is difficult to reflect in English. The text possesses a hysteron-proteron phrasing (inverting the natural order of time events take place in) in which *neci dedimus* (literally, "we give over to death") precedes *patuerent . . . meae dextrae* ("are open to my influence"). The translation for the Latin *omne ingenium*, "All temperaments," points to the variety of human personalities and corresponds to *ingenium* more accurately than to *anima*, *animus*, *mens*, or *cor*.

438–39 [520–21] "I alone have supplied whatever . . . Styx relegates to its rapacious whirlpools"

The Latin for "I supplied," *rapui*, basically means "I have taken," but here the verb implies that Greed has snatched up these souls/hearts/temperaments for hell, thus "supplied" them. The Latin for "relegate," *abdit*, typically means "put aside" or "hide." Lavarenne (1933: 247) gives it the sense of "relegate," citing Vergil *georg*. 3.96 as a parallel. For pagans, the river Styx surrounds the underworld, imprisoning the damned on an island.

440–41 [522] "Richest Tartarus owes me the nations it keeps. . . . Whatever the generations conceive is mine"

P.'s focus moves from individual "temperaments" (*omne ingenium*) to "nations" (*populos*), then "generations" (*saecula*), and ultimately to the "world" (*mundus*). Greed is so pervasive that it spreads from individual souls to all of humanity (see 405–15 for similar movement from individual to the world). The Christian spiritual and moral shift away from a world driven by material wealth to a godhead concerned with the lowly reflects a stark and all-encompassing view on paganism. The eternal punishment of hell is reserved for the rich ("Richest Tartarus"). P's use of *saecula*,

"generations," is marked as a historical and typological term in his work as a whole. The concepts of "historical age" (both sacred and profane) and "human exemplar" occupy the semantic field of *saeculum*. See Mastrangelo (2008: 67–74).

442 [523] "its mad problems"

The Latin for "problems," *negotia*, is a loaded term in Roman poetry. The opposition between *negotium* (literally "affair," "occupation"), which implies a life of political and military action, and *otium* ("leisure"), which represents a life of leisure, is central in the work Catullus and his poetic descendants, Propertius, Tibullus, and Ovid. This trope pitted artistic pursuits against aristocratic vigor. Here P. adds Christian nuance to *negotium*'s secondary meaning of "problems" by evoking a broader sense, that is, the world of human affairs with all its complications and temptations that flow from vices like greed (*TLL* 9.3.496.64–77; cf. 2*Tim*. 2:4).

447 [529] "What does this new-fangled disdain mean?"

The translation "new-fangled disdain" expands the literal meaning of the Latin phrase, *docta fastidia* ("learned contempt"). For P., Greed's phrase has the further sense of contempt for the newness of Christian ideas. Moreover, Greed is perplexed by Christian virtue's radical rejection and rewriting of Roman tradition's notion of the purpose of life (see note to line 442).

448–50 [530–32] "Iscariot . . . dinner-guest of God . . . their hands mingled in the food platter"

Jesus knew Judas Iscariot would betray him when he and Judas put their hands in the same plate of food. *Mt*. 26:23 portrays Judas and Christ sharing the same "food platter" (*parabside*), and *Mk*. 14:20 and *Jn*. 13:26 depict a similar snapshot during the Last Supper. The consequential presence of Greed at the Last Supper recalls Arrogance's claim that she was present in the Garden of Eden at the Fall of Adam and Eve. See notes to 179–80 and 183–84. Vices are ever-present throughout Salvation History and have won decisive and definitive victories.

451–53 [534–35] "buying his infamous farm . . . with his strangled neck"

The story in *Acts* 1:18 is that Judas bought a field with blood-money, but, on his arrival, he died as his abdomen split open and his innards fell out. *Mt*. 27:6–8 has the priests take the money and buy the field and convert it into a cemetery, a potter's field. The field in both passages was called Acheldemach or "field of blood" (from the Italian versions of the pre-Vulgate, Old Latin Bible, Sabatier 1743: vol. 3: 170). P. is alluding to the *Matthew* version in which Judas hanged himself. At *TH* 153–56, P. gives the biblical name of the field, employing both the *Matthew* and *Act* stories.

455 [537] "Achar"

In this passage (454–55 [536–44]), P. pauses on the story of Achar, who, after the victory at Jericho (*Josh*. 7:1, 21, 25) without permission took from the war plunder. His guilt is portrayed as spreading to the whole community, thereby putting it at risk. The community expiates that guilt through Achar's (perhaps excessive) punishment of death (Alter 2019: II: 26). At lines 462–64, P. implies that such an exemplar or type like Achar can corrupt the community: "Let those who delight in his clan's example delight in the figure of his death! Let there be the very same comeuppance/for the members of this clan!"

460 [543–44] "noble Judah"

Although Achar, Judas, and Christ descend from the tribe of Judah, they have completely different lives. P. shows that choosing to follow Christ or evil is not a matter of race or one's tribe but a choice of an individual and their reason (*ratio*).

464 [547] "Since I am inferior in military battle, why don't I trick"

P. moves from Judas to Achar and then here to the priests of Judah. Although the latter two are victims of greed from the Hebrew Bible, the phrase "fellow tribesman of the high priest" (465) also implies Christian priests in P.'s narrative. Judas and Achar are types for the individual reader to contemplate, and the priests of Judah are a type for a chosen group of God of which the reader is (can be) a member.

468–69 [551–52] "Her fierce expression and ferocious weapons/disappear and she takes on a virtuous façade"

The Latin is lifted nearly word for word from *aen*. 7.415–16, where a disguised Allecto, the fury who induces madness, rouses up Turnus for battle. The "ferocious weapons" of a fury are ropes and whips (Valerius Flaccus *arg*. 8.20), which Greed lacks. However, Greed does have fury-like features, including "snaky hair" (line 476); she is also referred to as an "impious fury" (line 481, *inpia Erinys*). See Dracontius *med*. 439–42 for Late Antique description of a fury.

470–73 [553–55] "Thrift . . . as if she took nothing from Greed . . . her ability to pretend that she is diligent"

The Latin for "to pretend," *adumbratae*, also has a typological connotation such as "sketched" or "shadowed" (*pe*. 10.629)—i.e. indicating another person, event, doctrine, or sacrament. Here P. uses it in the sense of deception (*TLL* 1.0.885.75–886.12) as he does at *ham*. 335. Juvenal describes Thrift similarly as having "the pretense of goodness" (*specie virtutis*) but also as loving money like a greedy person (Juvenal 14.109–13). P. uses the Latin, *Frugi* ("Thrift"), for *Frugalitas*, which does not scan in a hexameter line.

474 [557] "the deceiver, a Bellona"

See note to line 197. Greed is referred to as a Roman goddess of war who is called "deceiver" because she tricks men into war. She is associated with Janus, the two-faced god, perhaps because war can go either way (Graf 2003). In this section of the poem, P. portrays greed as both the central cause of war and the vice that appears to many as a virtue.

475–76 [559–60] "She covers her snaky hair in a sheen of tender piety"

The translation recasts the Latin phrase, *tenero tegmini*, which Lavarenne flagged as referring to the veil a Roman Christian woman wore. This idea is picked up in the next line with the phrase "veiled madness." P. plays with the ideas of covering, hiding, and the veil. Thomson hints at this with his translation of *pietas* as "motherly devotion."

476 [560] "robe"

The Latin, *palla*, refers to a woman's gown formed from a single, large piece of fabric that was folded before being worn.

480–81 [566] "This impious fury"

The Latin for "fury," *Erinys*, refers to Greed. Vergil refers to Helen as an *Erinys*, a "curse" (*aen*. 2.578). Lucan connects the *Erinys* to civil war (*bell. civ*. 4.187), a theme that P. transforms into the civil war within the person.

484–86 [569–72] "the double shaped monster . . . the altering double destroyer"

Throughout this passage the appearance of the vice is ambiguous and unsteady. The army of virtues and martyrs do not know what to make of her. Vice represents the endemic quality of deception in the subject herself—one believes falsely that to indulge in vice will make one happy, hence a psychological precondition that motivates wrongdoing. P. will speak of Discord, who represents heresy in the same way, specifying the metaphor of concealment (cf. Thrift/Greed's "bright robe conceals a veiled madness," line 476), which, psychologically, leads to the self-delusion that one is virtuous when one is not.

486 [572] "undermines their eyesight"

The Latin for "undermines," *lubricat*, literally means "to make slippery," but here it means to make the eyesight slippery and hence to undermine it (*TLL* 7.2.1685.69–71).

486 [573] "Good Works"

Lactantius refers to caring for the sick as the greatest work for the best of humanity (*inst*. 6.12.24). Ambrose and Augustine see Good Works (*Operatio*) as a divine force or virtue emanating from the Trinity (*expl. ps*. 12; *serm*. 71; 126; *trin*. 1.8). Later, at lines 490–95, Good Works is described as having given away her wealth thereby achieving freedom, but even more importantly, she "pities the poor" (*miserando inopum*). P.'s description of

Good Works highlights the most radical aspect of Christianity from the traditional, Roman perspective, namely that a person should live as Jesus says: "If you want to be perfect, go sell your possessions and give to the poor" (*Mt*. 19:21). In addition, P. jars his reader by dramatically representing Good Works as "gnashing her teeth" (line 487, *frendens*) and occupying the position in a Roman legion ("furthest back," line 488), usually reserved for the most experienced soldiers (Livy *ab urb. cond*. 8.8.8). This imagery suggests that a central part of doing good works is eliminating vices.

495 [582] "Enriched by faith"

The Latin text, *ditata fidem*, requires we take *fidem* as an accusative of relation or respect, an unusual occurrence with *ditata* (from *dito*). Some manuscripts dealt with this by writing *fide*, an ablative, the more common construction. Lavarenne sees this as a correction of a copyist and thus the more reliable reading is *fidem*.

497 [584] "Terrified at the threat"

The Latin for "threat," *fulmen*, literally means "thunderbolt." More generally, it means "destructive power" or "strength in battle" (*TLL* 6.1.1528.5).

498 [586] "the certainty of her downfall"

The Latin, *certa mori*, is a Vergilian phrase (*aen*. 4.564) used of Dido by Mercury, who is attempting to convince Aeneas to abandon Dido and leave Carthage. In addition, line 508 ("She stabs her, opening up the breathless ribcage") recalls *aen*. 9.431–32 and the stabbing in the chest of Euryalus; P.'s phrase, "she disperses . . . as gifts" (lines 511–12 [603], *munera donat*) recalls *aen*. 5.262 where Aeneas presents prizes at the games he administers; and P's phrase, "The cause of such great evil" (line 515 [607], *causa mali tanti*) hearkens back to *aen*. 6.93 where the Sybil prophesizes to Aeneas the trials he will experience upon founding Latium. In this section of the *Psychomachia*, as in other sections, P. establishes an allusive field of references to Vergil that illustrate the transformation of the *Aeneid*'s language and world into a Christian language and world.

511 [602] "the poor"

The Latin word, *egenis*, was an adjective in classical Latin, but Christian writers and translators use it frequently as a substantive (*Job* 34:28; *Ps*. 40:2; *Jn*. 12:6).

514–15 [606–08] "just ones . . . the pure"

Good Works is addressing all (ideal) Christians in her speech; that is, Christians who fear God (*Acts* 20:32; 26:18) and have been sanctified through their faith (*Rom*. 15:16) as represented by the sacrament of baptism (1*Cor*. 6:11) and a union with Christ (1*Cor*. 1:2). The Latin for "the just," *justi*, is a common way for P. to refer to pious Christians (*cath*. 6.73; 5.112; 10.91). A similar usage appears in the New Testament (*Rom*. 2:5–6) and

in Augustine (*conf*. 9.4.10). Often the Latin for "the pure," *sancti*, refers to the Communion of Saints, i.e. all living and dead baptized Christians (Lavarenne 1992[2]: 71, note 2, and Augustine *civ*. 1.15.2). This sense also is reflected in pagan writers of the time like Symmachus (*ep*. 1.40; 2.11; 5.16; 6.5; 8.101).

516 [608] "gluttony-for-gain"

The Latin, *ingluvie*, literally means "throat" or "maw," but here it has the figurative sense of gluttony (Horace *sat*. 1.2.8; Claudian *eutr*. 2.333). P. adds further nuance, in that gluttony and gain (or profit) together form the concept of greed as a voracious consumer of worldly goods, always desiring to acquiring more.

519–27 [614–22] "don't take a wallet . . . faith in the mighty lord's care . . . ensures . . . survival"

At the beginning of this passage, P. channels *Mt*. 10:10, where Christ is sending his disciples into the world as sheep among wolves. *Mt*. 6:26 and 6:34 are in the poet's mind as well as Christ tells his disciples that like birds, who are not even worth a penny (*Mt*. 10:29), they should not worry about tomorrow since God will provide.

527–28 [622] "You who are the concern of God and the image of Christ"

Human beings are the concern of God because God created them and sacrificed his son for them. The image of God is the Word (Logos) and the Son (*Jn*. 1:14; *Col*. 1:15; 1*Cor*. 4:4), the image of whom is a human being ("the Word has become flesh"). A human being, then, is an image of an image (Marius Victorinus *adv. ar*. 1.20; Jerome *ez*. 1.1.9). Tertullian had developed this Christian extension of *Gen*. 1:26 ("Let us make man in our image") at *res*. 6, and P. expresses it directly at *apoth*. 309: "Christ is the form of the father, we are the form and image of Christ" (*Christus forma patris, nos Christi forma et imago*). See also Dracontius *de laud. dei* 1.525 (*Christi imago*).

530 [625] "Go find the radiant food, Christian doctrine from heaven"

P. alludes to the story in the Old Testament when God provided the Israelites food as they wandered the desert for 40 years after the Exodus from Egypt (*Ex*. 16. The idea of "manna from heaven" is found elsewhere in the Bible: *Ps*. 78:24; 105:40 *Jn*. 6:31). P. gives the phrase a Christian figurative meaning in which God's nourishment is Christian doctrine, a kind of knowledge and doctrine prior to ritual. See also *cath*. 8.8 and Jerome *ep*. 98.2.

531 [626] "incorruptible life"

The Latin for "incorruptible," *invitiabilis,* is unique to P., containing within it the word for "vices," which is negativized by the prefix "in."

534–617 [629–725] Seventh battle: Harmony (*Concordia*) vs. Heresy (*Discordia Heresis*)

With the death of Greed, the battle of the virtues and vices appears to be over as the light of day returns, God smiles, and Christs rejoices (534–45). A parade of virtues, figured as infantry and cavalry, sing psalms and hymns. Their singing is compared to that of the triumphant Israelites after they escape Egypt through the Red Sea (546–63). But after the virtues enter their camp, a storm rises and Heresy, disguised as a fellow soldier, attacks Harmony, lightly wounding her (564–88). In a pointed and brief speech, Harmony is exasperated by how vice can still penetrate an army of virtues, that is, a soul cleansed of vice (589–93). After being discovered and asked to identify herself, Heresy gives her own brief speech in which she describes herself as changeable, multiple, a will-o'-the-wisp (594–608). Enraged, the mob of virtues make short work of her, attacking her throat and tongue and dismembering her (609–17).

In a time-honored literary tradition going back to Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* when Oedipus and the audience have their hopes raised only to have them dashed, so P. raises hopes that the battle is over and the virtues have won. However, in a contemporary historical turn, Heresy's invasion of the secure camp of the Virtues allegorically represents on the one hand a pure soul that requires vigilance and, on the other hand, a 4th-century Church not free from corruption and competing doctrines. Moreover, P. has modelled Heresy's assault on Harmony after the attacks of Allecto in the *Aeneid* (see note to lines 468–69). The disruption of peace between the Latins and the Trojans points to Roman civil wars between Caesar and Pompey (Barney 1979: 74–76; Mastrangelo 2008: 22–23; and Hardie 2019: 194) and Octavian and Antony (also recalled is the story of the Trojan Horse with its deception, recognition, and the destruction of the city). In response to Harmony's utter confusion about how a vice could penetrate a soul cleansed of vices, Heresy answers that beliefs in false doctrines about the Trinity can always infiltrate the soul. Although an orthodox doctrine of the Trinity had been codified at the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Constantinople in 381, throughout the Mediterranean different understandings of the Trinity persisted into the 5th century (see Ayres 2004: 78–84, 430–35 and note to 604–606), and this section of the poem reflects this historical reality (or of the recent past) through the personification of Heresy, who uses heretical language of alternate Trinitarian doctrines (604–607). The mutilation of her throat and tongue silences the organs that produce such blasphemous words and perverse doctrine; and in dismembering her (compare the death of Rufinus in Claudian's *ruf.* 2.405–26), the

Virtues furnish a concrete representation of the abstract meaning of Heresy's first name, Discord.

534–35 [629] "After Good Works said this, Human cares were driven away"

The Latin, *his dictis curae emotae*, is directly from Vergil (*aen*. 6.382). The list of personified human cares is modelled on *aen*. 6.277–78, where Fear and Pain are mentioned.

535 [630] "Fraud"

This vice is a companion of Greed because during the persecutions, many people denied their Christian faith out of an expectation of riches or from a fear of poverty.

536 [631] "Peace"

The personifications of Peace and Good Works are portrayed in catacombs as young women with their hair in a bun or braid and who sit or stand at the edge of a couch or bed. Lavarenne (1992^2: 22) quotes an inscription about both of them, who are called by their Greek names: *Irene, da calda; Agape misce mi* ("Peace, give warmth; Good Works, unite with me"). Pagan Rome had several temples dedicated to the goddess Peace, including one dedicated by Vespasian in 75 (Elder Pliny *HN* 36.102). At Horace *carm. saec*. 57–60 and Ovid *fast*. 1.709–22, Peace is personified and associated with Faith, Modesty, and Virtue. At *symm*. 2.634–36, P. associates peace, Rome, and harmony.

538 [634] "Her dress fell, flowing down to her feet"

The Latin, *vestis ad usque pedes descendens defluit imos*, appears to mean that the dress had been folded up high on the legs in order to fight, but once the battle was over, it fell down to a more proper look for a Roman female, not even exposing ankles (Prosperi 2000: 124).

539 [635] "Personal discretion"

Here the Latin phrase *privata modestia* has a connotation of a private citizen as opposed to soldier, that is, a civilian who has returned to normal life (Lactantius *de mort. pers*.18.10).

543 [640] "the Thunderer"

The Latin, *Tonantis*, is usually applied to Jupiter in Ovid, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Martial, Apuleius, Claudian, Paulinus of Nola, and Dracontius. P. uses it elsewhere at *ham*. 37, *apoth*. 171, and *pe*. 6.97–98. Early Christian writers' appropriation of this appellation for God from pagan literature not only reflects a confidence in the standing of Christianity in P.'s time, but also a willingness to commandeer and transform the pagan literary tradition.

545 [643] "welcoming his servants to his Father's deepest abode"

P. is recalling *Rev*. 3:21 ("I will grant him to sit with me on my throne as I . . . sat down with my father on his throne"). Elsewhere, P. and

other early Christian poets use *arx* to refer to the elevated home of God (*psych*. 817–18 and *TLL* 741.1.31–36). The Latin for "Father's deepest abode," *patrium profundum*, i.e. where God dwells, appears unique to P. Christian authors usually apply *profundum* ("deep" or "depth") in a negative sense such as the depth of evils, sins, a deep mystery, or deep abyss (of hell). Occasionally, the word is associated with the Cross in Augustine (*serm*. 165) or even the heights of heaven (*civ*. 4.11). Here, in applying it to the seat of the Father himself, P. achieves a tone of apophatic mystery.

546 [644] "Blessed harmony"

Harmony (*Concordia*) was a common pagan personification on monuments and had two temples in Rome. At Juvenal 1.116, Harmony is associated with Peace, Faith, Victory, and Virtue; Ovid, Lucan, Claudian, and Augustine associate Harmony with Peace and Health (*fast*. 1.639; 2.631; 3.880–81; *bell. civ*. 4.190–91; *ruf*. 1.52; *civ*. 3.25–26 and 4.24). For further background and details on Harmony/*Concordia*, see *RE* IV: 831–35. On Peace/*Pax* see *RE* XVIII: 2430–36. With regard to the character of Harmony, P. favors religious harmony over political harmony—though the Latin for "blessed," *felix*, is often used in connection with military victories and positive military fortune (Cicero, *leg. man*. 10), but both are present as doctrinal and ecclesiastical respectively.

549–50 [648–49] "singing psalms . . . belting out hymns"

The Latin for "singing psalms," *psallente*, is used by P. in his works that are themselves hymns like the *Psalms* (*cath*. 9.23; *pe*. 5.313, 6.150, 10. 387). At line 562, P. calls psalms "mystical songs." Consequently, there seems to be no difference between this psalm-singing and "belting out hymns." P. may have in mind a more general meaning of the verb "to sing to the cithara" (*cath*. 9:22 and *pe*. 10.837). *Ex*. 15, upon which this story is based (see next note), has two groups of singers as well, not infantry and cavalry but women and men.

550–51 [650–51] "Just like victorious Israel sang"

This passage recalls *Ex*. 15:1–21 when the Israelites, having been freed from slavery under the Egyptians, escape from Pharaoh's pursuing army by passing through the parting of the Red Sea. Once free and safe, the Israelites sing a hymn, which P. recalls at *cath*. 5. 57–85 in another version of the same story. In that version, Christ is praised and projected back into the story of the Exodus as the victor over Pharaoh's army. For Early Christians, it was crucial to see Christ's coming as predicted in the Old Testament, and further, his presence and agency in the events of the Old Testament. For Christ's direct involvement in this event, 1*Cor*. 10:1–6 is the foundational biblical passage. Dracontius gives still another version of the story,

emphasizing the song of victory and gratitude for the defeat of the Egyptians (*de laud. dei* 2.165).

554 [654–55] "dark-skinned Egyptians"

The Latin, *nigros . . . /Nilicolae*, refers to the Nubian or Ethiopian mercenaries of the Pharaoh. P. appears to be speaking about their complexion here. *Nilicolae* literally means "dwellers by the Nile." At *cath*. 5.69, P. uses *pubes decolor* ("swarthy youth") of the pursuers of the Israelites. *Decolor* has the sense of "colorless," and for the Romans, corrupt. Propertius and Ovid use the adjective to mean "swarthy" (4.3.10; *tr*. 5.3.24 and *met*. 4.21). P. also says at *cath*. 5.79, *nigrorum satellitum* ("dark-skinned henchmen"). Some recent scholarship has understood a correlation between skin color and a proto-racist mentality in the ancient world (Isaac 2004 and the review by Shaw 2005). For early Christianity see Byron 2002, which argues that despite its inclusive ideology, early Christian literature marginalized Egypt, Ethiopia, and blackness. However, as Byron admits, color-coded signification in the ancient context remains inconclusive. Later in the *Psychomachia*, Prudentius uses the phrases "pale as a sheet" of Heresy (*exsanguis . . . metu*, 603 [709]; cf. Ovid *met*. 9.224) to indicate her fear through her "white complexion" (*color albens*, 597 [704]) and the "black heart" of humans' embattled soul (*nigrantis . . . cordis*, 772 [906]), where blackness (not associated with skin color or race) is a metaphor for sin or a soul full of vice.

562[664] "soothing psalms"

The Latin for "soothing," *dulcimodis*, is a word unique to P., occurring nowhere else in earlier Latin literature. L&S gloss it as "sweetly modulated." Here the use of the noun for "psalms," *psalmis*, refers directly to the book of the Hebrew Bible, which was crucial for early Christians. Augustine, in the *Confessions*, employs the poetry of *Psalms* 144 and 146 to construct a thoroughly poetic opening to his poetic prose masterpiece. As an epic poet, P. would have understood the *Psalms* as an *ur*-text of Christian poetry, which at its foundations is a poetry of praise, prayer, and thanks. The Israelite hero, David, was seen as the author of the *Psalms* and thus as the "Homer" of early Christian poetry.

566 [668] "a storm comes"

In the *Aeneid*, the metaphor of the storm (*tempestas*) indicates conflict between characters and countries, as well as a disturbance in the cosmos (*aen*. 1.124–56; see Reedy 2016). Here, P. applies the full breadth of the Vergilian metaphor to Heresy, who upends the harmony of the camp. The poet transforms the metaphor for his own purposes, alluding to the battle against heresies within the Church while exhibiting how inner conflict between virtues and vices never ends. Heresy is the "jealous disturber"

(*turbatrix invida*, 567 [669]) of a happy ending. Statius uses *turbatrix* to describe the disruptive nature of rumor (*fama*) at *theb*. 4.369.

571 [673–74] "Although her firm chain-mail"

The Latin for "firm," *squalentia*, is a participle from the verb *squalere*, which means "to be stiff" from neglect, i.e. not properly functional, as in this passage where Harmony's chain-mail will fail to keep her completely safe, allowing a small wound. Here it is "firm" with the pregnant sense of failing in its function. Bergman (1897: 61) (followed by Peltarri 2019: 182) believed that the sense of "not functional" is awkward here and that the required sense is "covered with scales," equivalent to *squamosa*.

572 [678] "steel"

The Latin, *chalybem*, comes from the name of a Scythian people renowned for iron work (Catullus 66.48–50). The word can mean "steel" or by metonymy, "sword," or even "arrow point" (Valerius Flaccus *arg*. 1.593). As Lavarenne (1933: 254) on line [680] comments, Harmony's armor is composed of two parts, a rigid part that covers the chest and a flexible coat of mail attached at the belt, protecting the lower abdomen and upper thighs.

581 [685] "Her torn robe and a whip made from various snakes"

The image is lifted from *aen*. 8.702–03, where Vergil describes *Discordia* entering with a torn robe, followed by Bellona, the demon war goddess who wields a whip. P. transfers the serpents and whip to his version of *Discordia*, Heresy, who is a fury (see Ovid *ib*. 185 for *Discordia* with a whip [*flagellum*]). On the motif of the fury in P., see notes to lines 468–81.

582 [686] "the carnage of the battlefield"

Such militaristic descriptions of battlefields strewn with bodies (Livy *ab urb. cond*. 7.24 and Claudian *stil*. 1.231) again suggest the Roman civil war that P. exploits for the figuring of internal psychological conflict.

583 [687] "wreathed with leafy olive branches"

For the Latin, *olea frondente*. Paradoxically, Discord is wearing the symbol for peace (Valerius Flaccus *arg*. 5.361). P. also uses the variants of the phrase at *symm*. 2.663 and *pe*. 4.55–56, which may be compared to *aen*. 8.116.

587 [692–93] "it grazes the outer most layer of skin"

The Latin, *extima tactu . . . cutis*, is another phrase unique to P., denoting the top layer of skin by which we feel and touch.

592 [697] "the unbeatable furies"

The Latin, *indomitos . . . furores*, is found in Catullus' mini-epic on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (64.53). There it is a metaphor for the rage in the heart of Ariadne, who was jilted by Theseus. The Furies illustrate the

ancient view of how uncontrollable emotions take one over as they start from the outside but do their damage from the inside.

594–600 [703–05] "Turns their sad eyes . . . conforms her reckless act . . . with swords drawn"

The Latin for all three English phrases, *convertere oculos*, *conscius audacis facti*, and *strictis mucronibus* are taken from the *Aeneid* (*aen*. 11.746, 11.802, 12.663). P. employs battle discourse from Vergil and others to indicate that for all its didactic techniques, the *Psychomachia* is also a martial epic.

597 [703] "The guilty pallor on the face of this defendant"

The Latin word *reatus* usually means "defendant," which the translation has retained to limit repetition. But it probably means "guilt" (Lavarenne 1933: 255) as in Tertullian (*adv. marc*. 2.15) and Augustine (*retract*. 1.14.3). The Vulgate uses the word to mean blood guilt (*Deut*. 21:8 and *Ex*. 32:35). In the translation, the quality of guilt is transferred to the modifier of "pallor," i.e. "guilty," though the Latin *conscius* does have the idea of being conscious of one's wrongdoing.

604–606 [711–13] "My God . . . at one moment less, at another more, sometimes double,/sometimes singular . . . he is air . . . he is an inborn soul"

The comparatives "less" (*minor*) and "more" (*maior*) seem to refer to Arian heresy, which held that the Word (Logos) is inferior to God (*apoth*. 255, *nec enim minor aut patre dispar*, "for not inferior or unequal with the Father"). The phrase, "sometimes double" (*modo duplex*) may refer to a dualist heresy, Marcionism, in which the wrathful God of the Old Testament is understood as incompatible with the loving and merciful God of the New Testament (also *ham*. 6–7). Nicean orthodoxy rejects this view, holding that there is only one God of the Bible and that all three parts of the Trinity (the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) are equal and one. The phrase "sometimes singular" (*modo simplex*) may refer to the Sabellian heresy, which viewed the Trinity as three distinct aspects or modes of one God, as opposed to the Nicaean idea of the Trinity as one entity worshipped under three names. The phrase, "he is air" (*aerius*) may recall the Manichean idea that Christ did not have a human body (also *apoth*. 956–58); or it might allude to *Eph*. 2:2: "the ruler of the kingdom of the air, the spirit who is now at work in those who are disobedient," i.e. P. may be referring to the shape-shifter, Satan. And God as an "inborn soul" may suggest heretics like the Priscillianists who, as in the *Timaeus* of Plato (34a-b), understand the cosmos itself as a god, a kind of pantheism. In a brief space, P. manages to warn his reader about the multiple heresies that threaten orthodox Christian doctrine.

606 [712] "a ghost"

P. uses the Latin *phantasmate* for heretical contexts in which false images are produced by incorrect thinking. Pliny (*ep*. 7.27.1) describes how the

sighting of apparitions comes about from fear and misunderstanding. Tertullian carries on this idea (*adv. marc*. 5.7); and the Vulgate Gospels also have a version of it when the disciples see the "ghost" of Christ walking on water and flee in fear (*Mk*. 6:49 and *Mt*. 14:26).

607–08 [714] "Belial is my teacher and the world is my country"

Belial is a Hebrew word that means "useless" or "evil." She is a recurring biblical demon from the Septuagint to the New Testament. Paul makes Christ and Belial diametric opposites, "What harmony is there between Christ and Belial?" (2*Cor*. 6:15). *Jn*. 12:31 and 2*Cor*. 4:4 ("prince of the world," *princeps huius mundi*, and "god of this age," *deus huius saeculi*) help to explain Belial's assertion, "the world is my country and home." The Latin for "country," *plaga*, normally means "region" or "quarter," or "zone." But like *terra* it can mean "country" (*apoth*. 540; *TLL* 10.1.2297.70–98.10).

613 [720] "Each one grabs a piece for herself to scatter to the winds"

The Latin for "to scatter," *spargat*, is used in pagan Latin epic for dismembering and scattering parts of bodies to the winds or waves (Vergil *aen*. 4.600; Lucan *bell. civ*. 5.684). Ovid and Lucretius engage in similar language for dissipation of the body and the soul (*met*. 6.53 and *DRN* 3.400). It is tempting to see P.'s formulation as a metaphor for the dissipation of the non-Christian soul.

615 [724] "the whole corpse"

The Latin, *omne cadaver*, is borrowed from Juvenal 3.260. This language, including similar grotesque phrases like *blasphemia monstri* ("blasphemies of a monster," 609–10 [715]), *pollutam . . . linguam* ("corrupt tongue," 611 [717]), and *feralis bestia* ("savage monster," 612 [718]) evoke the repugnant horror of the vices. The destruction and dismemberment of Heresy's body is also a metaphor for divisions within Christian communities, which contained orthodox and heretical doctrines; her meaning as an allegorical figure is destroyed.

618–699 [726–822] Speeches of Harmony and Faith to the virtues

After the death and dismemberment of Heresy, the camp of the virtues is secure, at least for the moment. The scene is of a Roman military camp, in which soldiers gather round their leaders, Harmony and Faith, who address them from a raised platform (618–35). Harmony's words represent a victory speech, exhorting the army of virtues (and the reader's soul) to remain unified after defeating such a divisive (dismembered) enemy. The first half of her speech, which includes language such as, "domestic division," "dissonant purpose," "foreign invader," "divided will," and "schizophrenic heart,"

uses varied expressions of where disunity takes place, i.e. within groups and individual souls (636–50). Next, Harmony praises peace, borrowing from *1Cor*. 13, the famous paean to love (*caritas*), and claims that peace is the prior condition to collective and individual unity, citing the examples of martyrdom and ritual sacrifice, which require a soul free from the disturbances of vice such as hate, anger, or heresy (651–68). In fact, peace rather than animal sacrifice is the best offering to Christ and God. She concludes by returning to the victory in which the true, orthodox doctrine won out over Heresy. She mentions two particular heretics, Photinus and Arrius, whose doctrines are to be recognized for the frauds that they are (669–77). The army of virtues is left despondent by her speech—perhaps because Heresy and Discord got into their camp (into the soul) in the first place and are able to return again and again. Faith interjects with words to reassure the virtues that with faith standing by harmony will always triumph. Finally, Faith commands the army to build a new, Christian temple that recalls the importance of Solomon's temple and David's altar in the Hebrew Bible (678–99).

The speech of Harmony and the remarks of Faith emphasize two ideas: peace as a necessary condition of unity, and deception as destructive of unity. At *civ*. 19.13, Augustine says that the "peace of the body, . . . of the irrational soul, . . . of the rational soul, . . . of the body and soul, . . . of the individual and God, . . . of the society, . . . of the home . . . of the (earthly) city . . . of the heavenly city, . . . and of everything" depends on the proper order and hierarchy of all the constituents, whether they be emotions and virtues in the soul, citizens in a city, or the parts of the universe. Each part must stand in a hierarchical and orderly relationship to one another as God, for instance, stands as a superior to and higher than a mortal person. As an inspiring piece of poetry, P.'s treatment of peace, while mentioning only several of the Augustinian categories, focuses on how destructive emotions such as anger and hate can be, as well as how devastating the inability to root out deception can be. In this scene P. has given us the psychological setting for warfare and worship, the allegorical scenery of the poem (Smith 1976: 141 and Gnilka 1963: 9–18). We have been plunged into a soul, described as a military camp (620–22), a city (638–41), and finally a temple (688) whose inhabitants are virtues and emotions. In addition, with these metaphors, P. suggests that the greatest city, Rome, with all her military power, can be the force that extirpates heresies (Mastrangelo 2008: 129) and purifies society and souls. The new temple, modelled on the temple of New Jerusalem in *Revelation*, is simultaneously a triumphal monument of the Roman Empire and the founding of a (Christian) civilization (Nugent 1985: 61 and Gnilka 1963: 83–91).

618–20 [726–29] "So, when favorable blessings . . . walls"

The Latin text may be corrupt and it is not easy to translate, but the general sense is clear. The manuscript tradition gives two different readings. Bergman, Lavarenne, Cunningham, and Peltarri print the text of the oldest manuscript A, which I have translated. Others such as Thomson print the text from manuscript E. The original text most likely suffered damage in transition, necessitating an interpolation (Peltarri 2019: 189–90). Some scholars attribute the difficulty to P.'s and other late antique writers' tendency toward "circular and imprecise expression" (Prosperi 2000: 27, note 189). This bias is rooted in Late Antique repetitive and rhetorically descriptive style. See further Lavarenne (1992[2]: 75, note 1). See also Gnilka (2000: vol. 1: 126–37), who argues that this passage is an example of systematic interpolation in the text.

619 [727] "the people"

This section of the poem veers between soldiers as virtues and as persons. The double sense is not surprising given P.'s allegorical approach, which is polyvalent in its reference.

622–23 [734–35] "Pure Faith and Harmony,/sisters sworn to a sacred pact and the love of Christ"

Faith and Harmony are a pair, like Discord and Heresy. Harmony is a state between those who agree on the correct doctrines. Peace is also part of this group of personifications/concepts. Just as (orthodox) faith leads to communal and psychological harmony, so (doctrinal) discord causes divided and chaotic heresy.

627–28 [741–42] "no part of the soul lies idle, cut off from any corner of the body"

The soul, as in Epicurean theory, is distributed throughout the body (Lavarenne 1992[2]: 75, note 2). Compare *symm*. 2.379–80 and Macrobius *in somn*. 1.14.19, the latter of whom is quoting Hippocrates on the soul's distribution throughout the body. In this passage**,** the Latin for "soul," *mentis*, more commonly stands for the intellect or the rational faculties.

630 [744] "The canvas is unsealed"

The Latin for "canvas," *carbasa*, is a fine cotton fabric from the far east. Romans made sails, curtains, and flags for the legionary standards from it (Propertius 4.3.64).

636 [751] "Most loyal children of Christ"

The Latin for "children," *pignera* (in the singular *pignus*), primarily means "pledge," "proof," or "token" before the 1st century. Early Christian writers use both meanings (pledge or child) liberally. Paulinus of Nola names Christ as *pignus*, i.e. the proof of salvation (*ep*. 13.26–27). Similarly, Augustine sees Christ's death and his blood as a "proof" (*civ*. 22.4

and *serm*. 154), but he extends this idea to the Holy Spirit as proof (*serm*. 142.9). Augustine makes this context clear when he says *pignus habemus, praemium speramus*, "we have the proof, we hope for the reward" (*en. in ps*. 42.4; see also 96.17). In his thinking on the nature of the Trinity, Augustine asks whether the Father is the *pignus* of the Son or whether the Son is the *pignus* of the Father, thereby reflecting the ontological ambiguity of a unified godhead that is described with father/son language (on Augustine's general approach to the Trinity, see *serm*. 52, 117, and *trin*. 4 and 15). P. trades on both meanings of "proof" and "child" when earlier in the *Preface* to the poem he refers to Abraham's son Isaac as a *pignus* (4 [5]), a proof of faith that is a nearly sacrificed son. At *apoth*. 1040, P. names Christ as the *pignus*, the child, shaped into existence by the Father. Finally, P. uses *pignus* of the male child who is to be killed according to Pharaoh's decree, of whom Moses is meant, who himself prefigures Christ as savior. P.'s use of the word here in the *Psychomachia* catches the full theological meaning of the proof of salvation and child of the divine, a meaning that suits the virtues as well. They are the children of Christ and proof of his divine authority.

637–39 [752–54] "savage barbarism . . . with sword and fire oppressed men"

The Latin, *ferroque viros flammaque premebat*, is taken from *aen*. 10.232 (*ferro Rutulus flammaque premebat*, "the Rutulian [Turnus] was pressing with sword and fire"). Both passages trade on the opposition between the binaries of insider/outsider, native/foreigner—P. applies this interpretive framework to Heresy as the external invader, and Vergil employs it in the case of Turnus, the native insider who becomes the enemy outsider. In these lines, P. moves from military battle language to the image of the city. The soul, as the camp of virtues, is a city besieged. In ancient thought, beginning with Plato (e.g. *rep*. 443c9-d1), the soul and the city are analogous; on which see Williams (1997) and Mastrangelo (2008: 126–32).

640–41 [756–57] "Domestic division disturbs the state; and what is divided within founders without"

This thought, which Abraham Lincoln later adapted for his House Divided Speech, has its roots in *Mt*. 12:25: "Every Kingdom divided against itself is laid waste and no city or house divided against itself will stand." The Latin phrase for "domestic division," *scissura domestica*, is unique to P., though the Vulgate uses a related noun, *scismata*, to evoke quarrels among the Corinthians, a passage in which Paul pleads with the Corinthians to be united "in the same feeling and thought" (1*Cor*. 1:10). The Latin for "division," *scissura*, has a parallel in an Augustinian sermon (*serm*. 250 in Poque 2003): *tunc enim congregatio sanctorum, divisiones et scissura*

haereticorum non erit: pax erit et perfecta unitas erit, "For then there will be a gathering of holy ones, there will be no divisions and schisms of heretics: there will be peace, and perfect unity"). P. has moved sequentially from a military camp, a city, and finally to a political state, only to describe and re-describe psychological conflict. In this passage and what follows, the specter of civil war, transferred to the soul, is highlighted through the dense use of interior language.

643 [759] "foreign cult"

The surrounding context of this phrase suggests foreign invaders in the soul. P. employs xenophobic language of the Roman imperialist state to make the point that the Christian soul and state are the new ethical and political paradigms, replacing the pagan ones. P. gives a picture of a belief-based psychological conflict, an inner battle between different beliefs/doctrines rather than between reason and emotion.

644 [760–61] "since a divided will confuses a schizophrenic heart"

For "schizophrenic heart," the Latin, *variis arcana biforma fibris*, is translated by Thomson as "disorder in our inmost nature." The meaning of *arcana* here is something like "secret thoughts." Lavarenne translates, "the secret aspirations in the changing, doubting heart." My translation encapsulates the heart or inmost nature that sometimes desires evil and sometimes good. The Latin for "heart," *fibris*, usually means "entrails" and is a rare usage (Persius 1.47 and Sidonius *ep*. 4.1.4). The Latin phrase for "divided will," *fissa voluntas*, is another example of interior language that is unique to P. In the *Confessions*, Augustine describes the divided will: "All [wills] are good and they are rivals until one is chosen, to which is brought the whole, single [will], which was split into many" (*et omnes bonae sunt et certant se cum donec eligatur unum, quo feratur tota voluntas una, quae in plures dividebatur*, *conf*. 8.10.24). In this section of the *Confessions*, Augustine sees the desirable choices that come before us, in his case between a chaste Christian life and a sexual life, as a divided will, which cannot impel us to act and leaves us in a state of *akrasia* (weakness of will). Only God's call to Augustine in the Garden is able to unite his will that directs him toward his choice of a devout Christian life. Like Prudentius, the divided will does not represent a conflict between reason and emotion (desire), but between the will to follow a Christian way of living or not.

644–45 [762–63] "Let love unite what we know. Let our way of life harmonize in one purpose"

The emphasis on unity, wholeness, and singularity of mind and purpose excludes psychological conflict of any kind, including between reason and desire/emotion, virtue and vice, and the will against itself. Rather, the two parts that always threaten to split within a person, the divine and human, are

able to unite through Christ the mediator (see also the following note). It is Christ's story, the interpretation of the story that becomes doctrine, and his very existence that allows disparate parts within the person to unify. This is a form of knowledge or wisdom triggered by love of God and Christ. Love has always been connected to knowledge in ancient thinking. The term *philosophia* (love of wisdom) is testament to this fact. However, in this poem, Plato's picture of an erotic desire for knowledge—expressed most clearly in the *Symposium* by means of the desire for beauty, which leads to the good—has been transformed by P. into the idea that love itself brings knowledge with it. The intense and aching love for God, as seen in the early sections of Augustine's *Confessions*, possesses an epistemic force, which claims that this emotional commitment is the necessary and sufficient condition for human knowledge.

646–50 [764–68] "And just as Jesus comes between human and God . . . so let one spirit motivate action . . . from body and mind"

As at lines 75–86, P. inserts orthodox doctrine about the Trinity into a speech and the narrative. Here the wording in Latin for "Jesus comes between human and God," *homini atque Deo medius intervenit Iesus*, envisions bringing Christ as a mediator between God and humans. That is, perhaps just as important as Jesus' ontological status is his role in shepherding individuals to salvation. Similar language pervades early medieval discourse (e.g. Gregory the Great, *in ez. hom*. 1.2: "Jesus the mediator between humans and God is represented," *Iesus mediator dei et hominum designatur*). In this extraordinary passage, P. compares the complicated relationship between Christ, the Father, and humans, a central aspect of the Trinitarian debate (see note to lines 604–06), to the way that the mind and the body work together in human action. The "eternal spirit" is the Holy Spirit in the soul, the guarantor of immortality (Ambrosiaster *quaest. vet. et novi test*. 123.12). The eternal spirit and human flesh are not separate in Christ, and they make one God (*sitque ut deus unus utrumque* [766]).

648 [765] "Flesh"

The Latin, *carnea*, is an adjective that P. also uses at *apoth*. 969. Other Early Christian authors do not use the substantive of this adjective in this way, though it does appear in the Vulgate at *Ez*. 11:19.

649–50 [668] "let one spirit motivate whatever action we perform from an organic function of body and mind"

The translation expresses the second half of the comparison wherein the Father-Christ relationship is analogous to the soul-body relationship. The Latin, *spiritus unimodis texat conpagibus unus*: literally, "let one spirit weave from a simple structure." *Unimodis* ("simple") is rare (Apuleius *de dog. plat*. 2.5; Martianus Capella 8.855) and has the sense of unity,

simplicity, and thus, "organic." *Conpagibus* has "connection" at the base of its meaning as in "joint," or the connections that make up a structure. *Texat* ("let . . . weave") applies the concrete image of weaving to the functions of mind and body that cause human action—not to mention its epic literary sense of weaving a poetic composition.

651 [769] "Peace is the perfect work of virtue . . ./the reward for war ended"

The Latin for "work of virtue," *virtutis opus*, is a Vergilian expression (*aen*. 10.469; also, Claudian *laus ser*. 12). P.'s use stands in stark contrast to Vergil, who sees virtue's work as "to increase fame by deeds." For P., peace is the goal and result of virtue (see also lines 659–60, "the ending for the worthy is peace"). Moreover, P.'s praise of peace differs from Augustine's excursus on peace at *civ*. 19.10–14, in which he argues that peace is a universal aspiration and an Aristotelian *telos*, the goal of all rational and irrational activity. For the Bishop of Hippo, true peace is divine peace in the City of God, the opposite of disorder and chaos in the world, and not achievable on earth. P. begins his panegyric with the idea that peace is deeply connected to the activity of virtue—in this case, the virtues have achieved peace after a war. The following verses recall the value of the worldly, when suffering departs and wars end. He even mentions the peace inherent in the cosmos and nature. At lines 653–60 he situates peace within the person, arguing that peace is a precondition for any attempt at communicating and serving God. But perhaps the most striking part of P.'s treatment of peace is his adaptation of *1Cor*. 13:4 ("Love is patient and kind. It does not envy, it does not boast; it is not arrogant"). P. replaces love with peace, connecting the predicates of not being prideful, nor jealous, but patient, trusting, and forgiving (lines 660–62). Augustine's *in pace praemium qui virtus in bello* (*civ*. 17.12, "he who is their strength in war is their reward in peace") fits the Prudentian context and parallels 651–52 [770]: *pax belli exacti pretium est pretiumque periculi*. Cunningham (1966: 176) lists *civ*. 19. 10–14 as an allusion to line 651 [769]. The main difference between *civ*. 17:12 and lines 684–93 [804–15] (the announcement of the building of a temple) is that Augustine focuses on David's proposed temple (2*Sam*. 7) and P. on Solomon's temple building (*1Kings* 5, 6, 8; however, P. at *psych*. 807–10 mentions David and the bloodguilt from wars that prevented him from building a temple to God, 1*Kings* 5:3; see note). The significant overlap between lines 651–52 [769–70] and *civ*. 17.12 raises the question of whether Augustine knew the *Psychomachia*—especially on the heels of line 651 [769]. See further the note to line 49 of the *Preface*.

653–56 [772–74] "When you want to offer a gift at an altar . . . if your mind . . . hates your brother"

When engaging in the worship of God through ritual offerings, or even in sacrificing one's life as a martyr does, one's soul cannot be distracted by anger or hatred. P. is recalling *Mt*. 5:24: "first be reconciled to your brother and then come and offer your gift." P. has sprinkled this section of the poem with several direct allusions to the New Testament to describe and extol peace.

658 [777] "from anger gone awry"

The Latin, *bile sub obliqua*, is an odd phrase that reflects P.'s penchant, on display in this section of the poem, for naming inner emotional states in a variety of ways. Bile was connected to anger and envy (*aen*.11.337, Horace *epod*. 1.14.37, and Ovid *met*. 2.187; Prosperi 2000: 127). The adjective, *obliqua*, has the sense of a thing or an event "gone sideways." For P., the "troubled heart" (656), "hateful desire" (658), and "anger gone awry" all describe a perverse inner state, personality, or soul.

658–59 [777–78] "you will not gain from giving your precious life to Jesus"

The passage appears to be inspired by 1*Cor*. 13:3: "If I give away all I have, and if I deliver up my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing" (*nihil mihi prodest*).

659–60 [778] "Since the goal of the worthy is peace"

The Latin for "goal," *clausula*, has the sense of the Greek word *telos* (end or goal), *summa* (summit, top), or *perfectio* (completion, *TLL* 3.0.1326.63–66). While all these translations are possible for this context, "goal" catches the full range. Compare the similar language of Augustine at *civ*. 19.10 and 19.11: *ipse [pax] perfectionis finis* ("peace itself is the summit of perfection") and *fines bonorum nostrorum esse pacem* ("the highest point of our goods is peace").

664–65 [783] "anxious that the knowing sun not leave behind a lasting anger"

This line is inspired by *Eph*. 4:26: "Do not let the sun go down while you are still angry." P. develops the allusion into a metaphor of an animate sun (*sol conscius*) watching over human actions and motivations. This sets the stage for Christ, whose face, like the sun's, looks down on us as we approach an altar to make a sacrifice. Christ turns his "face" (*vultum*, 667 [786]) toward the altar. Although rare, *vultum* ("face") is used of the sun in Latin literature (Suetonius *aug*. 79.2).

665–66 [784] "whoever wishes to sacrifice whole burnt offerings to God"

The Latin for "whole burnt offerings," *holocaustis* is a Greek word from the Septuagint (*Ex*. 40:6; 29:18). Early Christian writers extend the concept to the sacrifice of Christ (Augustine *en*. *in ps*. 42:5); and it is used of the sacrifice of the Catholic mass (Venantius Fortunatus, *carm*. 3.6.53; 5.5.127).

Just as in the case of Christianity's superiority to paganism, P. subordinates Judaism and the Hebrew Bible to the New Testament and Christianity by appropriating the core concept of Jewish sacrifice, which represents old covenant and law, for the less ritual-oriented and more doctrine-centered Christianity. Thus, the things Christians do for peace are the true sacrifices.

667–68 [786–87] "[Christ] delights in in this gift alone and its pure aroma"

In the Hebrew Bible, God rejoices at the rising odor of a sacrifice (*Ex*. 29:18). Here, it is the "aroma" of virtue that Christ of the New Testament enjoys. Christ is conceived of as being up above, receiving the wafts of the virtuous actions (not traditional sacrifices) that humans who are below perform.

669–72 [788–91] "snow-white doves . . . discern a winged snake . . . harmless birds"

The thought can be traced back to *Mt*. 10:16: "Behold, I am sending you out as sheep in the midst of wolves, so be wise as serpents and innocent as doves" (*estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae*). The Latin for "snake," *coluber*, is connected to the dragon, which is a snake with wings (*draco*, *pe*. 1.36), or it can refer to a serpent with demonic power (Augustine *en. in ps*. 39). Dracontius *de laud dei* 1.459–61 describes the serpent as imbued with the "deceptions of death" and a "whole head of evil" (cf. *ham*. 203, *caput vitiorum*, "head of vices"). Here begins an exhortation to challenge false prophets (i.e. heresies, 669–77 [788–97]), preceded by exhortations to be unified (644–50 [761–68]) and to be peaceful and tolerant (651–669 [769–87]).

672–74 [791–93] "the wolf hides, disguised as a . . . sheep. He inflicts murder"

The wolf in sheep's clothing comes from *Mt*. 7:15 and *Acts* 20:29. The wolf is another demonic symbol for P. (*pe*. 1.97–99, "savage demons, which like wolves capture and devour men's hearts, choking their very minds and mingling with their feelings," trans Thomson 1949 with changes). In the world, harmony and peace can cause a person to lower her guard and be oblivious to false prophets and their disguises.

675 [794] "Photinus and Arrius"

Condemned at the synod of Antioch in 344, Photinus was a bishop in Pannonia (modern Serbia) and preached that Christ was merely a person and not the Incarnation. Photinus instead argued that it was the divine *logos* in Christ that made him divine. Arrius (256–336 AD) was a priest from Alexandria, Egypt, who also disagreed that the Father and the Son were the exact same divine entity, i.e. consubstantial. The Father, he held, was uncreated and eternal, while the Son was created before the creation of the world

and is subordinate to the Father. The Council of Nicaea (325 AD) concluded that the Son was indeed God from God, and the Son and the Father were consubstantial (*homoousios*). Arrianism persisted into P.'s day, taking hold in several parts of the empire. On Arrian Trinitarian theology, see Ayres (2004: 54–57).

678 [798] "stunned by the bitter misfortune"

The Latin, *casu concussus acerbo*, comes from *aen*. 5.700 and describes the reaction of Anchises after the Trojan ships are nearly destroyed by fire. Nautes encourages Aeneas to continue on the mission of founding their new home. P. has Faith play a similar role after Harmony has been injured. Faith will motivate the virtues to carry on just as the advice of Nautes helps Aeneas. At *aen*. 6.475, Vergil uses *casu concussus iniquo* ("stunned by unfair misfortune") of Aeneas, who has just finished talking with Dido's unforgiving shade in the underworld. The virtues undergo the same extreme emotional reaction but, unlike Aeneas, they do have recourse.

683 [803] "nothing is sad when you welcome her . . . my chiefs"

The Latin, *nihil hac mihi triste recepta*, recalls *aen*. 9.262, *nihil illo triste recepto*. P. is speaking of Faith, the bedrock of their belief; and Vergil, through the words of Ascanius, is talking about Aeneas, the bulwark of the Trojans and the foundation of their confidence.

684–99 [807–22] "Solomon began it . . . the blood is cleansed . . . Jerusalem received . . . let a holy temple rise"

In these 15 lines, P. alternates between the past tense and present tense and concludes with a future exhortation. The fluid but rapid change of perspective through the alternation of tense and mood demonstrate that past, present, and future events are linked by their meaning. This typological understanding of time and reality hinges on choosing stories from the past, understanding in the present what they mean, and finally acting on that knowledge now and into the future.

684–85 [807] "Solomon . . . this peace-making heir"

P. alludes to 1*Kings* 3–5 in which David had consolidated his kingdom through wars, leaving it to Solomon to build the Temple of Jerusalem during a time of peace.

688–89 [809–10] "a temple is erected and an altar . . . under a golden roof"

Compare 1*Kings* 6:22: "and the whole altar which was in the inner sanctum he overlaid with gold."

689–91 [811–13] "holy Jerusalem, famous for its temple . . . marble altar"

Unlike in the description of Solomon's temple at 1*Kings* 8:6, P. includes marble in the building materials, implying that the temple of Jerusalem is

the ante-type for a Christian church (Lavarenne 1992[2]: 78, note 2). Moreover, the diversity of materials in the making of the temple suggests unity in multiplicity.

690–91 [812] "the nomadic Ark of the Covenant"

The Ark represented the contract, the covenant between God and the Israelites, and as such, prefigures the new dispensation between God and Christians. The Latin for "nomadic," *circumvaga*, is a rare adjective used of the ocean at Horace *epod*. 16.41.

692 [815] "let a holy temple rise . . . whose holy of holies the Almighty might visit"

Allegorically speaking, a person is the temple, emphasized elsewhere by P. (*pe*.10. 346–65; *symm* 2. 249–55) and by Paul (1*Cor*. 3:16, 6:19; 2*Cor*. 6:16). The Latin for "holy of holies," *sanctorum sancta*, refers to the inner sanctuary of the temple. Originally in the Hebrew Bible it was the inner sanctuary of the tabernacle where the Ark was kept and God appeared. Here, the new Christian temple/church will rise with its entrance facing east, thus, usurping the role of Solomon's temple.

694–95 [817–818] "the son of man . . . enters . . . the city of the cleansed body"

"The son of man" is a common way to refer to Christ in the Gospels (81 times), *Acts*, and *Revelation*; the Hebrew equivalent, *ben-adam*, can also simply mean "human being" (*Ez*. 2:1 with Alter 2019: vol. 2: 1056, note 1). The metaphor, "city of the cleansed body" (*purgati corporis urbem*), stands for the person as the temple of God (1*Cor*. 3:16: "don't you know that you yourselves are God's temple and that God's spirit dwells in your midst?"). In addition, the New Testament makes it clear that Jesus is the true temple (*Jn*. 2:19–21; cf. *Rev*. 21:22). The purpose of construction of the temple is to receive Christ and the performance of other holy activities. Medieval exegesis distinguished four successive realizations of Jerusalem, including the third as the living dwelling of God in the person. P. anticipates this metaphor in the *Preface*, lines 44–45. See also *cath*. 4.16–17: "he enters chaste hearts, which are consecrated as his temple" (*quae temple vice consecreta*); and *pe*. 10. 346–65: "a temple he established for himself in the soul of man" (*aedem sibi ipse mente in hominis condidt*). But at *symm*. 2.249–55, the city, like the body, is a microcosm of the world, and at its center is the temple, the heart and center of being within the soul (Prosperi 2000: 129). The Platonist analogy of city and soul undergirds this picture (see *rep*. 435b1–2, 443c9-d1 with Mastrangelo 2008: 128–29). P. indicates that he is not only thinking of the soul but also the city—and the empire—when he refers to Harmony as *Princeps* (632, the name Augustus took as "first citizen" of the empire) and Faith as "Queen" (609).

697–98 [821] "the white toga of silent peace"

The Latin, *tacitae toga candida pacis*, is an echo of a formulaic phrase, *cedant arma togae* ("let arms yield to the toga," Cicero *off*. 1.22.77; and Prosperi 2000: 130). The phrase encapsulates the movement from war to peace, from violence to law. The toga was worn in the temple of peace by Roman pagans, and its color, white, was the color of purity, grace, revelation, and theophany (a visible manifestation of God). Compare *symm*. 1.546.

699 [822] "sacred ceremonies"

The Latin, *sacra*, could have the sense of sacred or cult objects. Here the meaning appears to refer to the events (and objects) associated with the performance of the liturgy in a Church.

700–754 [823–887] Building the temple of Wisdom (the soul)

Harmony measures out the dimensions of the temple, which is a perfect square (700–705). The threshold is made of a solid, hollowed-out gemstone with an arch. The names of the Apostles, three per side, decorate the temple's four sides, each of which have three gates, and the divine Spirit infuses the structure (706–19). The myth of the four ages of man is recalled, representing the temple as a soul with a lifetime of experience (719–24). Vividly described gems are woven into the walls and form the roof (725–42). Regal Wisdom sits on a throne, deriving her authority and power from the always blooming, wooden scepter that recalls Aaron's scepter (*Num*. 17:23).

Having begun in the book of *Genesis* with the stories of Abraham in the preface, the poem completes its biblical journey through Salvation History with the book of *Revelation* and the building of the eschatologically charged temple of Wisdom within the soul. And because Prudentius always has in mind the universal scope of Salvation History from the creation of the world to the end times and resurrection, his totalizing allegory includes the history of Rome with its political and military success and responds to the archetypal founding of Rome, immortalized in (and reused from) Vergil's *Aeneid*.

What appears as the end of spiritual warfare in the *Psychomachia* ushers in a time for temple-building, similar to Vergil's Aeneas whose primary mission is to build a new city after Troy's destruction, one that leads to the building of Alba Longa and eventually Rome (*aen*. 1.5 with Hardie 2019: 201–02 and my note to 694–95). Verbal echoes of the *Aeneid* populate lines 738–54 recalling tragic scenes like the hauling of the Trojan Horse into the city, the burning of Priam's palace as Troy is destroyed, and the ill-fated

Queen Dido herself (Smith 1976: 296–98). The construction of the temple of Wisdom completes the intertextual movement from a Vergilian melancholic message of empire's costs to a new Christian dispensation. Typologically understood, Rome as the new Troy in Vergil parallels Prudentius' temple of Wisdom as the temple of the old and new Jerusalem (Solomon's and *Revelation*'s temples respectively) as well as the contemporary Church itself. Through the construction of this allegorical temple, P. links the past, future, and the present as a synchronous whole both in the implied definition of the soul as containing past, present, and future experiences and in God himself, who operates outside of history and time and in whose being past, present, and future are synchronous. But P. is by no means promoting a tidy break from the *Aeneid*'s pessimistic reckoning of the costs of founding Rome. As will become clear from the last 18 lines, just like the difficult war to create the conditions for building the temple of the soul/Wisdom, there will always be a battle to preserve and protect the temple within the soul from the vices—the army's discouraged reaction to Heresy's sneak attack against Harmony (564–78) foreshadows the pessimistic final lines. For P., perpetual spiritual warfare is the cost of acquiring and maintaining a virtuous soul and a Christian Roman empire.

700 [823] "the queen"

This is the fourth time that P. calls Faith a queen, which he also calls Lowliness at lines 165 and 223. The high standing of Faith is reinforced by her influential presence in the figure of Abraham in the *Preface*, at the beginning of the poem when she does away with Paganism, and at the end of the poem when she protects the temple of Wisdom within the soul from Heresy.

702–03 [826] "her golden measuring rod . . . calibrating distances"

P. borrows liberally from the final chapters of *Revelation*. Here, the allusion is to *Rev*. 21:15–16, from which P. borrows to begin laying out the dimensions of the Christian temple that will be described in terms of the New Jerusalem: "The angel who spoke with me had a measuring rod of gold to measure the city, its gates, and its walls. The city was laid out like a square, as long as it was wide."

705–07 [830–34] "On the east side . . . three gates . . . to the west"

Rev. 21:13 says that there are three gates on each side of New Jerusalem's walls. P. appears to be referring to numerological symbolism in the Bible. The number 3 represents the spiritual reality of divine or angelic nature. The number 4 relates to the cosmos or the land (716, 723); and the number 12 (713, 724), the number of apostles (compare *Rev*. 21:14), is the product of 3 and 4 and hearkens back to the Hebrew Bible (Jacob's 12 sons; the 12 tribes of Israel). In addition, the 12 apostles are further associated with the

four gospels, which suggests the four corners of the earth, and the gospel's announcement of the Trinity. For biblical numerology see Yarbro Collins (1984: 1221–87). Typologically, P. exploits numerological discourse to further his strategy of Christian supersession, the notion that Christianity is superior to paganism and Judaism—yet maintaining a continuity with the Judaism.

714 [840] "The divine spirit"

In the late 4th century, the Holy Spirit was a contested theological term. The Gospels and Paul asserted that the Spirit of God is divine, is given to all Christians at baptism, and is personalized (*ODCC* 783–84). Prosperi (2000: 130) argues that the Latin word *spiritus* here refers to the rationality of the soul (Augustine, *de nat. et orig, anim*. 4.23.37), which activates a sensitivity to virtue. Prosperi also points out that for P., *spiritus* has the sense of *mens vivida* ("a mind full of life"), which regulates and moderates a person's life (*symm*. 2. 385–87). Other authors mention a *mens acumen* (Claudian, *rapt*. 2.201, Dracontius, *rom*. 22.76). Lavarenne understands P. as looking to *Rev*. 22:17 and thus *spiritus* as an obscure term. Peltarri cites Juvencus 1.454 for the meaning, "the spirit of God." Here, Juvencus' formulation seems nearest, as P. portrays the divine (Holy) Spirit of the godhead infusing a person's soul, unifying and harmonizing the soul by means of its "purified desires" (719). See note on line 47 to the *Preface*.

716–17 [843] "four stages of life"

The Latin, *quadrua vis*, literally means "four-fold force." Here it refers to the four stages of life (Lavarenne 1992[2]: 79, note 2), which P. briefly refers to in lines 719–22—"boys, "adolescents," "a man," and "old age." P. adds infancy for a fifth stage at *symm*. 2.317. As the foundation of human nature, the four-fold force may also contain an allusion to the four humors of the Hippocratic texts (blood, phlegm, yellow bile, red bile). A passage in the *de mundi constitutione*, (*PL* vol. 90, col. 88) argues that each humor dominates each stage of life.

721 [846–47] "man in full"

The Latin adjective *consummabilis* ("in full") is rare and used by Seneca to mean "able to be perfected" (*ep*. 92.27). For this context, that must mean a man who has reached his full potential as a person (Gnilka 1963: 105–06; Peltarri 2019: 208). There is no other example in Latin of this sense.

722 [847–48] "impels decrepit old age to religion"

The Latin for "decrepit old age," *decrepitam senectam*, is mentioned by P. at *symm*.317–334 where the progress of human society is compared to the stages of an individual life (*symm*. 2 314–16). Old age allows us to pursue religious and cultural interests. Here P. compares the stages of life

to the phases of the day. Augustine does this as well (*de vera relig*. 48 and *civ*. 16.43). Early Christians develop the philosophical analogy between city and soul, dating back to Plato (see note to 694–95). P. exploits the ambiguity in the term "temple:" it has the sense of "dwelling place" (*habitatio*) and of a sacred place, apportioned off from a piece of land (705–07). The Cappadocian Church Fathers reflect a similar ambiguity, understanding ναός ("temple") as a building and dwelling place of the Holy Spirit (Basil of Caesarea, *ep*. 8.11) or as the whole human being (Gregory of Nazianzus refers to his sister as a living temple, *orat*. 8.11). P.'s double-meaning use of "temple" is unique in Latin Christian literature. Moreover, in the *Psychomachia*, a person's progress is parallel to and constitutive of the progress of a Christian society, defined by the adoption of Christian virtues.

723 [849] "on the four sides"

This is a compressed translation of *quadrina ad conpeta*, which normally stands for the crossroads. Each entrance of the temple has three paths that lead out into the four basic directions (Lavarenne 1933: 265).

724 [850] "names the king has placed in honor of his twelve disciples"

The king is Christ, who is mentioned here because the allegory of the temple as soul requires that Christ enter and, along with his disciples, act as mediator within the temple/soul between the Father and the soul.

725 [851] "as many remarkable gems"

The 12 precious stones that P. lists more or less match those from *Rev*. 21:19–20 and are described in the Elder Pliny's *Natural History* (*HN* 37. 17, 23, 31, 32, 37, 38, 40–42). The luminosity of the stones described in the following lines ("sparkle brilliantly," "transparent," "colors," "luster," "shimmers") gives a sense of the soul's clarity and its departing from spiritual darkness. The number 12 mimics the 12 months of the year or perhaps even the 12 signs of the zodiac. Other possible analogies include the 12 gemstones and the Holy City, and the 12 stones that protect the ephod, the breastplate of Aaron the high priest (*Ex*. 28). The translation has used the modern names for the stones, which can vary from the ancient names.

727 [852–53] "the living souls of colors"

The Latin of this extraordinary poetic expression, *animasque colorum viventes*, occurs only here. The soul expressed in terms of the exquisite colors of gemstones furnishes a vivid metaphor unmatched in early Christian poetry. In addition, P. makes an aesthetic claim for the natural beauty of gemstones that have become words whose arrangement clarifies the soul and its relationship to the divine. On this aesthetic approach, see note to 346 and the Introduction 21–22.

730 [857] "A dim agate is flooded with . . . light of a jacynth"

"Agate" is the translation for *chalcedon,* which has a white, milky color, and is dull compared to gemstones. The "jacinth" is an orange-red zircon gemstone that appears in *Rev*. 21:19–21.

733 [861] "carnelian"

A semi-precious gemstone related to sand, the color of which varies from pale orange to deep red, cherry black. The color red underlies the tone.

736 [865] "chrysopase"

A gemstone of the chalcedony variety that gets its green color from nickel oxide.

738 [866] "The crane"

The Latin, *funalis machina*, is a crane with pullies and ropes that can lift huge objects (Vitruvius *de arch*. 10.2.1–4).

739 [868] "seven columns"

In Early Christian numerology, the number 7 represents the totality of space and time and the totality of a moral life when the three Theological Virtues are combined with the four Cardinal Virtues (Prosperi 2000: 133). The columns recall the seven pillars of wisdom, *sapientia*, the personification of which enters the poem at line 745 ("Wisdom has built her house, she has hewn her pillars, seven," *Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem*, *Prov*. 9:1). In patristic literature, the seven columns symbolize the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit: wisdom, intellect, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and love. See the 4th-century rhetorician and theologian, Marius Victorinus *comm. in rev*. 1.4. Also, the seven sacraments are not far from P.'s referential field.

740 [868] "the inner sanctuary of the temple"

The Latin, *domus interior*, is taken directly from *aen*. 1. 637 and 2.486, where it refers to the palaces of Dido and Priam, the latter of which is under attack and will be destroyed by the Greeks. P.'s temple on the other hand will be built for eternity. It also recalls the Holy of Holies (see note on 692), where God's presence occurred. P.'s description of the inner sanctum alludes to *Prov*. 9:1, where Wisdom's house has seven columns. The canopy, *ciborium*, housed the altars of a Christian church, see Peltarri (2019: 212). These allusions to the Hebrew Bible and Vergil again reflect the density of reference in this text. As the poem looks back to the contrasting contexts and fates of the palaces, it looks forward to Wisdom's temple that will conclude his poem.

740–41 [869] "transparent rock-crystal"

This crystal represents clarity and purity, the level between the visible and invisible. It suggests wisdom as a mysterious, divine power in human beings.

742 [870] "curved shape of an oyster shell"

Bergman (1897: 75) understands this expression as referring to Doric columns. *Sinuamine* ("curved shape") is used by three early Christian poets other than P.: Juvencus (*ev*. 1.87, 3.56), Paulinus of Perigueux (*vit. mart*. 2.99), and Sidonius Apollinarus (*carm*. 22.151).

743 [873] "Faith herself bought at auction an enormous pearl"

The pearl represents an image of heaven, a divine light that sublimates the instincts, spiritualizes the material things, and thus stands for a transfiguration of elements—think of "the pearly gates." At *Mt*. 13:45–46, the pearl is associated with the kingdom of heaven, which a person can "buy" by selling all that she owns. Origen identified scripture with pearls (*in ep. paul. ad rom*. 16.2.8, trans. Rufinus). The Latin expression for "at auction," *hastae addicere*, is unique to P. and literally means "to sell at auction," whereas here it means "sold at auction." The usual expression is *sub hasta vendere* (Florus 2.11.3). The Latin emphasizes that Faith sacrificed her own possessions and money, rendered in compressed fashion here as "herself."

744–47 [875–78] "Sitting on this throne . . . holds a scepter"

The scepter and the throne are symbols of political power and authority and reflect the divine and worldly "might" of wisdom, which at *Proverbs* 8:14–16 becomes a necessity of statecraft (Alter 2019: vol. 3: 378, note 15).

745 [875] "mighty Wisdom"

Wisdom, *Sapientia*, is personified at *Prov*. 1:20 and addresses people on top of a wall at the entrance to a city. Although female figures regularly symbolize nations in biblical literature and not abstractions, in the *Proverbs* passage, she "is as close to an allegorical figure as the Hebrew Bible comes" (Alter 2019: vol. 3: 355, note 20). Intriguingly, Alter sees this biblical quasi-personification as not necessarily derived from the Greek version, *Sophia*, and suggests that "the centrality of the quality of wisdom in this poetic book [*Proverbs*] led to a feminine personification." The New Testament associates Christ and wisdom: "but to those whom God has called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God" (1*Cor*. 1:24). P. also personifies wisdom at *ham*. 164 as the second part of the Trinity, the equivalent of Christ. Moreover, P.'s brief *Hymn for the Trinity*, the preface to the preface of the *Apotheosis*, says that Christ and Wisdom are the offspring of God. In this final section of the poem, Christ and Wisdom are both found in the interior of the temple (i.e. the soul). With the phrase, "considers in her heart" (746), the theme of interiority is re-emphasized though not executed in one-to-one allegorical correspondences.

748 [879] "separated from its roots"

Cunningham (1966) and Peltarri (2019) retain the reading, *stirpe reciso* (*reciso* = "separated"), from Manuscript A; while Bergman (1897),

Lavarenne (1992), and Thomson (1949) print *recisum*, which is less attested in the manuscript tradition but is used by Vergil (*stirpe recisum*, *aen*. 12. 208) and is more directly connected to its antecedent. However, Claudian uses a close variant (*stirpe recisis*, *ruf*. 1.56).

750–51 [882] "incandescent lilies . . . and blood-stained roses"

The lily and the rose are traditionally the translations of the Hebrew flora words at *Song of Songs* 2:1: "I am the rose of Sharon,/the lily of the valley." Although the "identification of these two flowers remains uncertain" (Alter 2019: vol. 3: 591, note 1), the early Christian tradition settled on lilies and roses, which became highly charged symbols. In his letter to the widow Furia, Jerome, like P., juxtaposes the purity of a virginal life with the martyr-like commitment to Christ: "support the widows whom you mingle between the lilies of virgins and roses of martyrs just like certain kinds of violets" (*suscipe viduas quas inter virginum lilia et martyrum rosas quasi quasdam violas misceras*, *ep*. 54.14). For Jerome, the mixing of both symbolically loaded flowers is reflective of a proper Christian widow. The lily as the emblem of purity also has Christological reference. The phrase "the lily of the valley" can represent Christ in the world, and the rose can stand for the blood and wounds of Christ, the cup that collects the blood of Christ, i.e. the transfiguration (Prosperi 2000: 134).

751 [884] "This is the figure . . . unfurled"

The Latin, *huius forma fuit . . . explicuit*, is part of a vocabulary of typological allegory and storytelling. The figure or the type of Wisdom's scepter is a fully realized description of Aaron's scepter. As we have seen, P. uses objects occasioned by the building of the temple, like gemstones and the scepter, as aesthetic opportunities to express spiritual beauty of the soul and the continuity of Salvation History.

751–52 [884–85] "This is the figure of Aaron's flower-bearing scepter"

P. recalls *Num*. 17:23 to typologically associate Aaron's scepter, the priests' scepter, and Wisdom/Christ's scepter: "On the next day, Moses came into the tent of the Covenant, and, look, Aaron's staff of the house of Levi had flowered, and it had brought forth flower and burgeoned in blossom and had born almonds." The bearing of fruit, almonds, indicates the "miraculous character of the event" and divine favor of the Levites, whose priestly function paradoxically removed them from farming (Alter 2019: vol. 1: 539, note 23). In the early Christian context, the flowering of Aaron's rod represents unity with God. More specifically, the rod is a figure of the cross and Christ's immaculate conception. It flowers without the aid of water and soil, independent of the laws of nature, just like Christ's conception—Mary, the mother of Christ, and Aaron's flowering rod are both nourishing and life-giving entities. In the *Psychomachia*, Wisdom's

scepter typologically binds together the Hebrew Bible, the Gospel, and the *Psychomachia*. The powerful presence of Wisdom at the end of the poem demonstrates that proper knowledge comes from the doctrines and stories of God and Christ.

753 [886] "growing in hope"

The phrase (*spe pubescente*) adds a figurative quality to the concrete image of the rod, which implies salvation. The Latin *pubescente* ("ripening" or "flourishing") normally applies to a fruit or a plant.

755–779 [888–915] Poet gives thanks and warns of a never-ending battle

The poet gives thanks to Christ in a brief prayer, but these pious words (755–56) belie a "heart dirty with filth," a body full of temptations, and a soul in conflict between virtues and vices, the latter of which have the upper hand (757–64). The internal conflict, a civil war within the soul, ebbs and flows between the awareness of the presence of God and "foul desires." The battle rages between body and soul, but more precisely within the soul itself (765–74). Christ infuses the soul with virtues, spiritual gems that form the temple that Wisdom rules over from her throne within it (775–79).

The poem comes full circle, portraying Christ as the victor and liberator of the soul, just as in the *Preface* the faithful Abraham was the victor over Sodom and Gomorrah and liberated Lot. Two main figures, Christ and Wisdom, share the stage at the end of the poem. As noted at 722, P.'s idea of the temple trades on the lexical meanings of "dwelling place" and "actual [religious] building." In this passage P. develops this ambiguity further as being between the temple of the soul within the body and the temple of Wisdom within the soul. The personification of Wisdom partakes from a couple of different traditions with which P. has been working throughout the poem. The tradition of the Hebrew Bible with regard to Wisdom (*Prov*. 9:1 and note to 739) and Wisdom's scepter (*Num*. 17:23 and introductory note to 700–54) remain salient. In addition, central to the sense of the passage, is the Christian Platonist tradition in which the soul, temple, and the city are connected and made analogous through the presence in each of the divine Spirit (see note to 722). Ultimately, with Wisdom as his agent Christ represses the soul's evil desires and misguided ideas. Christ as the monarch of the soul represents the Christian development of Plato's city/soul analogy (see note to 637–39) where the one, true Christian God, the ruler of the soul, reflects the monarchy that Rome had become.

Most striking is the passage's sense of a never-ending struggle within each person ("continuous battles," 760). Other than the giving of thanks to

Christ for the poem's victory over the vices and the final lines 774–79 in which the temple is reiterated as the salvation of the soul, P. focuses on the constant inner conflict that besieges our interior lives ("struggling souls," "conflicted feelings," "opposing forces"). The Vergilian epic reference, "Horrid wars" (*bella horrida*, 668 and *aen*. 7.41) adds further pessimism, figuring the soul's cycle of internal conflict as akin to a civil war (cf. *aen*. 700–703). The gloomy tone is reinforced by 755–72's intertextual comparison to the end of Lucretius' didactic poem, *The Nature of Things*.

Both the *Psychomachia* and *The Nature of Things* promote an uncertain and open-ended conclusion. This indeterminate state of affairs occurs, on the one hand, because Lucretius emphasizes the theme of the cycle of growth and decay in the world and, on the other hand, because of P.'s insistence that there exists a cyclical battle between virtue and vice where human virtues decay and vices grow. The final section of *The Nature of Things*, which describes the results of a devastating plague to a community and its individuals (*DRN* 6.1247–86), revisits a central argument of the work, namely that each person should overcome the fear of death through understanding the principle of growth and decline (P. Fowler 1997: 117). This knowledge is only possible through the adoption of Epicureanism laid out in the previous books (P. Fowler 1997: 138). This analysis illuminates the *Psychomachia* as well. Just as the reader of Lucretius must decide whether to follow or ignore the teachings of the master, Epicurus, for psychic health, so too does P.'s reader have to follow or ignore the teachings of Christ, many of which are laid out throughout the earlier parts of the poem, so that wisdom will rule the soul.

755 [888] "Christ, kindest teacher"

The Latin for "teacher," *doctor*, is used of Christ elsewhere by P. (*cath*. 6.78; 7.71; and 8.18), and he uses *magister* at *apoth*. 707, the word Jerome used to translate the Hebrew term, *Rabbi*. *Doctor* is used liberally in the vulgate of the Gospels (e.g. *Mt*. 22:35).

756–57 [889–90] "with our pious mouths . . . deserved honors . . . our heart is dirty with filth"

Early Christian writers, including P., often praise the godhead and then immediately highlight human unworthiness (see also *pe*. 2. 573–76 and 10. 1131–40). The Latin phrase, *meritos . . . honores* ("deserved honors") is Vergilian (*aen*. 3.118), referring to the sacrifices offered to Neptune. In these lines, P. draws a distinction between the surface, i.e. what we say, and the substance, our inner turmoil and conflict. At the end of the *Hamartigenia*, P. speaks of his bodily stain (*labe . . . corpora*, *ham*. 961–62,) and prays for a "light punishment" (*poena levis*, *ham*. 966). Compare the end of *pe*. 2 where P. actually names himself (*pe*. 2. 582), hoping that his poetry will

mitigate the sins of his heart (*cordis . . . crimina*, *pe*. 2. 575). P. comes close in these endings to a notion of weakness of will in which we say the right things but think and do the wrong things, a psychological picture in which we are not in control of our feelings and actions, though we desperately desire to be.

758–59 [890–91] "You want us to recognize the lurking dangers and the fortunes of our soul hidden"

Parallel to the beginning of the poem, P. invokes Christ to help dissolve the inner conflict humans experience. After distinguishing between pious words and interior corruption, here he focuses our attention on our ominous interior struggle by recalling the commands (i.e. words) of Christ, which take the form of P.'s own poetry.

759–60 [893] "our conflicted feelings . . . our dark hearts"

The source of pain in our lives is the divided soul (see note on line 644). From Plato's theory of the soul in which the rational part suppresses the desirous part, early Christian ideas of soul take on the model of interior struggle between parts that represent inner psychological conflict. Earlier in the poem the struggle was between choices on how to live as represented in a divided will; and here the conflict is between virtues and vices. And similar to Plato, the goal is the health of the soul as a kind of psychic balance, which the presence of Christ or the infusion of the (Holy) Spirit facilitates.

763 [896] "a worse yoke of life"

This phrase appears to be inspired by *Mt*. 11:29–30 ("for my yoke is easy and my burden light," Burton 1989 and Peltarri 2019: 219). However, the Latin phrase, *iuga vitae*, is without precedent and the thought that life is a burden is implicit. Therefore, the phrase more likely is modelled on phrases such as P.'s own *mortis iter* ("the road to perdition," line 70 [89]), *iuga mortis* ("yoke of death," *hist. apoll. reg. tyr*., rec. B 32), or *iuga servitutis* ("yoke of slavery," *TLL* 7.2.641.43–53).

765–66 [900] "glow warm with the presence of God"

The Latin, *incaluisse Deo*, has a parallel in Ovid (*met*. 2.641) where a prophet's mind grows warm with the god.

767–68 [901–02] "heavenly nature . . . foul desires"

Throughout the poem, the binary opposites of good and evil are sharply delineated. In this final section, internal conflict is figured as taking place in "our dark hearts" (*nebuloso in pectore*, 760 [893] and *nigrantis . . . cordis*, 773 [906]) and is caused by vices, which, once tamed, need "the plague of the vices . . . repelled" (*vitiorum peste repulsa*, 766 [899]). This tropological argument is expressed as a poetic argument through imagery of light/darkness and heat/mud. P. alludes to scripture to support the poetic argument that the battle is between the light of knowledge of Christ and the darkness of

a life lived in ignorance (*Is*. 42:16; *Acts* 26:18; and *Jn*. 1:7–9). Thomson's translation, "our heavenly nature grows cool" ([900]), is a stretch for *tepefactum*, which means to become warm, i.e. with the presence of God.

768–69 [902–03] "Horrid wars . . . mutinous weapons"

The first phrase is directly from the *Aeneid* where the Sybil warns of the future and unending wars (*bella, horrida bella*, *aen*. 6.86) and also Statius (*theb*. 4.601; 6.457). The Latin for the second phrase, *discordibus armis*, is found in Vergil's *Georgics* (*georg*. 2.458; also, Statius *theb*. 11.100). Here, the battle of the virtues and vices within the soul is explicitly portrayed as a civil war. Whereas Vergil and Statius enact civil war as a battle between Trojans and Latins or among Thebans respectively, P. has psychologized the idea but without losing the resonance of Rome's troubled past and the present threat of division in the Church.

769 [904] "human nature is not simple"

The Latin for "not simple," *non simplex*, has a nuanced meaning here when applied to the person. When this adjective was earlier applied to Heresy (*Discordia Heresis*, line 605 [711]), it means "singular," in the spirit of heretical doctrines. Although it retains some of this allusive meaning, here P. is describing a human being's interior make-up as not pure but two-sided and compromised because it contains both virtues and vices (similarly, "double substance" at lines 773–74 refers to virtues and vices—P. is not thinking of the philosophical problem of evil generated from his use of such ontological language).

770–71 [904–06] "the flesh formed from mud . . . the soul, produced from a tranquil breath heats up"

The words recall the biblical story of creation that describes the human body as formed from mud and the human soul from (God's) breath (*viscera limo effigiate . . . sereno . . . adflatu*). See also *cath*. 10.4 and *ham*. 117–18 where P., in similar language, mentions God as the creator of the world and of human beings. P. again refers to the soul as "heating up." The Latin, *aestuat*, in Vergil can mean to burn in the sense of rage and is perhaps combined with shame (e.g. describing Turnus at *aen*. 12.666 and Mezentius at *aen*. 10.870–71). Vergil also uses it to refer to the bursting forth of bees from the hive at *georg*. 4.308–09: "the moisture, warming in the softened bone, teems with heat" (*teneris tepefactus in ossibus umor/aestuat*). P. uses this nuanced sense of the verb here to represent the active energy of the soul that will "reject[s] the smut" (772; compare *pe*. 11.228 where P. uses *aestuat* to describe an agitated crowd).

773 [908] "Within our changing souls light and dark do battle"

P. uses *spiritibus* for "souls" instead of *anima* or *animus*. Throughout the poem, P. employs a series of Latin words to indicate the soul, sometimes

foregrounding aspects of the soul such as emotion, rationality, wholeness, etc. A few lines earlier at line 770, P. uses *animum* (from *animus*, often understood as "rational soul" or "mind") also to refer to the soul in general (i.e. *anima* which has the basic sense of "lifeforce," "breath"). In this section of the poem, *spiritus* and *animus* refer to the soul. The forces of "light and dark" have a Manichean tone as we find in Augustine (*conf*. 8.10.22), and P. has exploited the imagery of light and dark throughout the poem (see Gosserez 2001: 95–103).

774 [910] "until Christ God is at hand"

Our interior struggles end when Christ comes to our aid, sending us grace; then the purified soul, decorated with virtues, becomes the eternal temple of God. (Lavarenne 1933: 270)

775–77 [911–13] "all the gems of virtues . . . golden halls of the temple . . . virtues of the soul"

P. reiterates the symbolic relation between the layout of the gemstones and the temple materials and the virtues. On the aesthetic implications of these relationships, see note to line 346. Moreover, the Latin for "virtues of the soul," *ornamenta animae*, in which *ornamenta* is equivalent to "virtues," trades on the sense of *ornamenta* as "a mark of honor" or "distinction," and thus clearly implies virtues. The Latin for "constructs," *texat*, also used at line 649 [668] (see note), encompasses a historical (material), theological (doctrinal), and aesthetic (poetic) sense because it refers to constructing a temple, a soul, and an epic poem respectively. In the second-to-last line of the poem, P. uses a verb that implies all of these meanings that reflect allegorical thinking, i.e. the literal, the hidden, and the tropological.

778–79 [915] "Wisdom . . . rules . . . forever"

P. also places Wisdom in a glowing soul with Christ described as the head at *cath*. 10. 131–32. Another passage in P.'s *Contra Symmachum* elaborates on the idea that Wisdom enters the soul when the passions/emotions are tamed by rationality: "pure wisdom neither visits nor God enters the disordered feelings in the heart nor the fractured parts of the soul with its disturbed condition," *sic incompositos humano in pectore sensus/disiunctasque animi turbato foedere partes/nec liquida invisit sapientia nec deus intrat* (*symm*. 2. 626–28). The content of both of these passages is reflected in the closing lines of the *Psychomachia*, but Wisdom does get the last word, *Sapientia regnet*, suggesting that the acquisition of divine wisdom is the final goal and that Christ is a means to that goal.

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